A.F.C. BULLETIN

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PEACE

Speaking on Oct. 30, 1940, the President said:

"It is for peace that I have labored all the days of my life."

If ever there was a moment when the President could labor with good effect for peace it is now. As for Britain and Germany, these two powerful peoples seemed determined to tear each other to pieces. For nearly a year it is the British who are being torn to pieces. What is worse, she may be utterly crushed before America can get real help to her. The people of Belgium and Holland and France are starving. All peoples everywhere suffer. Little by little the light of freedom is going out everywhere. There seems to be no hope for anyone save in peace.

What kind of peace can be made? Who knows? Is it worth finding out? Suppose Germany were willing to make peace on terms which would recognize the sovereignty of Britain and permit her to keep intact that part of her empire which includes Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. Suppose she were allowed to hold on to what may be left of her navy. She could save the navy. The threat which so many see to America would be immediately removed. The world could turn again to the work of peace, of building, of recovery.

As to the continent of Europe —how will the lines be drawn there? Is Germany willing to restore to Norway, Belgium, Holland, and France autonomous governments? Doubtless Germany would insist upon economic advantages and on governments friendly to her. But can the United States get more for those countries save by putting an army of five million men or more on that continent and

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Join America First

If you are an American citizen, opposed to Nazism, Fascism and Communism, you can help fight war by joining the America First Committee. Contribute to their work. Distribute their literature. Volunteer your services.

Offices of America First Committee chapters in the metropolitan area are:

MANHATTAN — 515 Madison Avenue; 3 East 47th Street (Women's Division); 1050 Second Avenue (Labor and Veterans' Division).

BROOKLYN — 44 Court Street; 79-05 Fifth Avenue (Bay Ridge Division).

BRONX—1910 Arthur Avenue.

RICHMOND — 130 Bay Street, St. George.

QUEENS—75-12 Broadway at Roosevelt Avenue.

CEDARHURST, L. I. — 473 Oxford Road.

ROCKVILLE CENTER, L. I. —55 Front Street.

HACKENSACK, N. J.—378 Main Street.

NEWARK, N. J.—32 Commerce Street.

MONTCLAIR, N. J. — 506 Bloomfield Avenue.

Lindbergh Scores Philadelphia Hit

Huge New York Rally Hears Plea For Peace

Despite the efforts of several city leaders to suppress the meeting, an overflow crowd stormed the Philadelphia Arena May 29 to hear Charles A. Lindbergh speak under the auspices of the Philadelphia Chapter of the America First committee.

The meeting contrasted strongly with a rally held the previous night at Convention Hall, where a half-crowded auditorium participated in a "Save Freedom" demonstration. This demonstration to "Save Freedom" failed to assert itself for free speech in Philadelphia, where the A.F.C. was denied the use of the Academy of Music because the subject of war or peace was considered "too controversial".

Lindbergh's Reception

Mr. Lindbergh's reception by the people in Philadelphia equalled any he has received in his tour of the country to awaken the public of the dangers it faces in following a course toward war.

New Yorkers were given an opportunity to hear the "Lone Eagle" at the vast meeting at Madison Square Garden, May 23 —a meeting which some police officers said was the largest ever to be held in the city. More than 22,000 packed the Garden, and an overflow crowd of 12,000 lined 49th Street to hear the speeches broadcast over an amplifying system.

Speakers at this meeting, in addition to Mr. Lindbergh, were Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, Norman Thomas, and Kathleen Norris, the novelist. John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York Chapter, was chairman.

Cheers Greet Lindbergh

Prolonged cheers greeted Lindbergh and Wheeler as they called for American non-intervention in foreign wars.

The rally in Philadelphia constituted an answer to groups in that city that tried innumerable devices to embarrass the America First Committee and Mr. Lindbergh. Two radio stations refused to broadcast the speech; the transportation company refused to accept advertising for it on its street cars; and the Academy of Music refused to rent the auditorium for the meeting.

The "Save Freedom" rally was hastily organized to be held the night before Mr. Lindbergh was scheduled to speak. Tickets were poured out to the city. Despite that fact, the hall was only half filled.

Letters Bear Fruit

Meanwhile, activity of the America First Committee was bearing fruit at another important point: the mail-bags of the President and Congressmen.

Letters, postcards and telegrams pouring into Washington from all parts of the country are proving to be of considerable value in impressing the legislators with the enormous sweep of the movement to keep out of war.

Congressmen are realizing they cannot disregard this tide, for the determined public is making it plain that their prospects for reelection depend largely on their attitude on this question.

Cause of U.S. Peace Spurred By Fiery Roosevelt Speech

What the A.F.C. Bulletin Is

Today we publish the first issue of A.F.C. BULLETIN. It will serve as the official organ of the America First Committee.

The purpose of this newspaper is as follows:

The America First Committee has an enormous membership in the New York area. It is necessary for the Committee to keep in touch with its members, to keep them advised of what is going on, to let them know what the Committee is doing and to advise the members as to what they can themselves do to aid in the battle to keep America out of this war.

The cost and labor involved in doing this is so great that it is impossible in actual practice. Therefore it has been thought wise to issue this newspaper. In it each week all the important news of the struggle for peace can be reported. Members can learn what other chapters are doing.

They can be supplied with facts and data bearing on the debate which is in progress.

They can be informed of the work which the committee believes they can do to advance the cause of peace.

This is far the most economical means of doing this. This newspaper will be issued, therefore, weekly. But it can be sent only to those who subscribe regularly for it. The subscription price has been fixed at a very small sum, just barely enough to cover the cost of printing, addressing, editing and directing the distribution. The estimate of this is that the editors can put the paper each week into the hands of the members for 50 cents for three full months.

Therefore, send in today, and without delay, FIFTY CENTS for a three-months subscription to the A.F.C. BULLETIN.

Send in the name of a friend and a subscription for your friend as well.

This is one of the most useful things you can do today for this cause.

President Disappoints War-Makers By Saying Nothing About Convoys

President Roosevelt's "fireside" chat, after much confusion following its delivery, is now being rapidly cleared up. It was delivered in an inflammatory style. It ended with the declaration of a national emergency. The style of its delivery at first led many people to think that the President had taken some very drastic step. But careful examination of the talk later quickly altered this view.

The speech itself actually contained nothing the President had not already said. The National Emergency declared also was not entirely new. The President declared a state of national emergency on Sept. 9, 1939, when the war began. He referred to it in a speech as a limited emergency.

Speech Added Little

But the actual proclamation did not use the word "limited." So that when he redeclared a national emergency this week he added very little to what he had done a year and a half ago.

The President found himself in a difficult position. The war-like counselors who surround him had been harrassing him to start convoys, to repeal the neutrality act, to take Dakar, to declare war. On the other hand the American people were flooding him with messages to stand by his pledges. What the President actually did was to make a fiery speech to please his Junker

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America First Committee to Redouble Anti-War Campaign, Wood Declares

The following statement was issued by General Robert E. Wood, national chairman of the America First Committee, following President Roosevelt's "Fireside Chat" of May 27:

The President's speech was the least war-like of any of his utterances since election.

It bears unmistakable evidence that he has begun to listen to the American people.

The "fireside chat" was one of the longest ever made by the President. It was not as clear as it was long. This, undoubtedly, because it was an impossible attempt to satisfy the war party, Winston Churchill, and the non-interventionists, but it is the first time since election that the President has recognized so clearly the tremendous opposition of the American people to our involvement in foreign wars.

In contrast with his more recent statements, the emphasis of his speech was on American defense rather than saving the world. To the extent the President adheres to the actual defense of America he will have a united nation behind him.

It is important to remember that the declaration of emergency adds little if at all to the President's powers and to whatever extent it does it relates solely to home affairs. The President has no power whatever to declare war or to carry on armed hostilities without the consent of Congress.

The President quite properly avoided any direct statement which would infringe upon the constitutional power of Congress to declare war. The main issue facing the American people is still war or peace. On that issue the people of the United States must make their wishes known in no uncertain terms to the press and the President and the Congress of the United States. The America First Committee urges the carrying out of the defense measures contained in the President's proclamation.

The America First Committee also urges all Americans in the interest of democracy and the welfare of this nation to do everything in their power to maintain peace and avoid participation as a belligerent by this country in the European war now raging.

We shall redouble our efforts to crystallize public opinion in support of the President's pledges to keep America out of other people's wars.

Chapter Gains In Brooklyn

New Members Join By Thousands Weekly

How the America First Committee movement is fanning out in all directions, enlisting thousands of new members throughout the country, is revealed graphically by the story of the Brooklyn chapter, with main offices at 44 Court Street.

Organized little more than a month ago, this chapter has already enlisted more than 10,000 members, and new members are joining at the rate of more than 2,000 a week.

William T. Leonard, publicity man, is founder and chairman of the Brooklyn chapter. He contacted a group of 200 Brooklyn leaders in April, and with their aid opened the first chapter headquarters—a small store twenty feet square—at 44 Court Street. This space was found too small almost as soon as the doors were opened.

Unit Offices Opened

At present chapter headquarters occupy more than 1,000 square feet, and numerous unit offices have been opened to serve various districts of the boroughs.

Occupying conveniently-located stores, these units are at 766 Classon Avenue, 743 Wyckoff Avenue, 89-05 New Utrecht Avenue, and 79-05 Fifth Avenue. Several store owners have voluntarily offered their space free for the use of the chapter.

Three weeks after it was organized, the chapter sponsored a highly successful rally at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. A crowd of more than 5,000—including a sizeable over-flow—attended to hear former Governor Philip LaFollette of Wisconsin, Kathleen Norris and John T. Flynn.

Second Rally Scheduled

A second rally, to be held at the Bay Ridge High School, is scheduled for June 3. This meeting will be addressed by three Representatives—Hamilton Fish, Dewey Short, and James F. O'Connor.

The Brooklyn chapter is placing great reliance upon street speakers to enlist public support in its fight against foreign wars. Dr. Gideon Olson, pastor of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church, is chairman of the speakers' bureau. Six or seven groups, each consisting of seven persons, address street meetings each night at strategic corners throughout the borough.

Mr. Leonard said this week that an average of 100 persons are volunteering their services daily to assist in clerical work at the headquarters.

These volunteers work in day and evening shifts. Many persons with full-time positions contribute their evenings toward the cause.

Mrs. Ellen A. Olsen is secretary of the Brooklyn chapter. Charles B. Woram is treasurer, and John Cascione is assistant treasurer.

Bridgeport Chapter Hears Dewey Short

Enthusiastic thousands heard Representative Dewey Short of Missouri, Kathleen Norris, and John T. Flynn at a mass anti-war rally sponsored by the Bridgeport chapter of the America First Committee Monday, May 26.

Mr. Short denounced war as the "road to ruin."

The A. F. C. Bulletin tells what you can do to insure nonintervention in foreign wars. Fifty cents brings it to you for thirteen weeks.

Wheeler Urges President to Act for World Peace

Following are excerpts from the address by Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana at the America First rally May 23 at Madison Square Garden, New York:

I speak to you tonight, not as a Democrat, not as a Republican, but as a plain ordinary citizen who is deeply interested in this country of ours. I am here to urge you to muster the courage to fight as you have never fought before—to fight to save your sons from the bloody battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa—to fight against one-man government in the United States.

Peace or war is not a partisan issue. It is an American issue.

Denounced Mussolini

I hate one-man government. I was denouncing Mussolini when Churchill was saying (1927) "If I were an Italian I would be a Fascist." I was denouncing Hitler when Lord Halifax was shooting wild boar with Goering in Germany. Today, I denounce Nazism, Fascism, and Communism.

I denounce British imperialists, American tories and all war makers. If there be one or many within range of my voice who prefers the German, the Italian, the Russian, or the British systems to the American form of Government, I say, "Go there and stay there." I say to them, "There are those of us who believe in America, who have faith in American institutions, who have confidence in our ability to defend ourselves without the aid of England or any foreign power. Give us," I say, "an opportunity to remain at peace and to solve our domestic problems within the framework of the Constitution—to the end that we will build of this nation a greater and mightier republic."

Public Wants Peace

During the past month or two I have travelled some 7,600 miles through more than twenty states. I have addressed public meetings from one end of this country to the other. Whether it was business and professional men in Cincinnati, workers in Denver, farmers in Sioux Falls, miners in Butte, merchants in Boston—everywhere, East or West, it was the same—the American people are firmly resolved to avoid this war.

Dr. Gallup may publish polls which indicate that American public would approve Convoys. He may with approval of Secretary Stimson poll our armed forces. Of course, that venerable warrior, Mr. Stimson, expects a satisfactory result. He knows that every American soldier, sailor or pilot has been fully informed about the fate of General Hugh Johnson and Colonel Lindbergh when they dared express their views. But, if I know anything of public sentiment, or the temper of the American people, I fear the fate of those who would take them into the hell of war today.

These crowded, overflow meetings from Boston to Denver were composed of a cross section of the population. They were not pro-nazi, pro-fascist, or pro-communist. They were simply pro-Americans. They like myself were sympathetic with the English people. No blood but English flows through my veins or any of my family. And next to being pro-American I am pro-English. I greatly admire the English. Unlike us they have never been accused of being sentimental suckers.

English Love England

Lord Palmerton said (I quote): "England has no eternal enmities and no eternal friendships. She has only eternal interests." An Englishman loves England first. I only wish there were more Americans who like the English loved America first. . . .

* * *

The American people are still moved by noble emotions, but they learned twenty-five years ago to their eternal sorrow that there is no idealism in war. They learned and President Wilson learned that economic or political spoils, not humanitarian impulses, govern the conquerors. They saw Democracy sacrificed on the altar of international selfishness—exchanged for more territory and reparations.

Familiar Statement

And so today the war makers and all those who would so willingly sacrifice another's life to preserve the British Empire, tell us we cannot live in a world dominated by a dictator. How familiar that statement is to patriotic Americans. Our forefathers carved a democracy in a world of autocratic monarchies in 1776. Less than thirty years later a great conqueror unleashed his armed might against England and against most of Europe. Then a Boston anglophile, Fisher Ames, declared, "Great Britain is fighting our battles and the battles of mankind, and France is combatting for the power to enslave and plunder us and all the world."

The tories of today who would engulf us in war for Great Britain had their tory forbears. How easily could the word Germany be substituted for the word France in the statement of John Lowell who prior to the war of 1812 said: "All thoughtful men know that Great Britain alone stood between us and that slavery which would be our portion if France should prevail."

Fantastic Invasion Scares

Today our war makers in frightened tones and with a tremor in their voice pose the question, "What if Germany seizes the British Fleet?" They imply all would be lost. They suggest that we would suffer an immediate invasion, that Panzer divisions would roll down Broadway, and that parachutists would be landing in Montana. How fantastic! How utterly ridiculous! . . . .

We are building a two-ocean navy. It will protect this hemisphere. Except for a few units it will be ready for service within two years. Unless Hitler can invade this hemisphere within the next few months, he could never do it even though he captured the entire British Fleet and the remainder of the French and Italian Fleets were his to command. This is not idle talk from a swivel chair expert. Ask any top ranking, active, working American naval officer.

Let us examine the facts: If Hitler seized the British Fleet tomorrow, years would be required in which to train crews and officers to man these ships and to reach the high state of effectiveness of our navy. Each man must be trained for his task. Many require the greatest skill and longest experience. Likewise, to command and to maneuver fleets demands years of study and then more years of drilling aboard ship. And each of these planes, submarines, and ships must drill with each other before a fleet has been trained for action.

Hitler has no fleet now, and he will not have a fleet until long after we are ready for him.

It is inconceivable that the British Fleet would ever come into Hitler's hands. In 1918 the Germans sank their whole fleet rather than to deliver it to England. Without the British navy it would take Hitler at least seven years in which to build a fleet equal to ours.

To invade South or North America, the invader must have a tremendously superior fleet. It is significant that the British and French navies never attempted a coastal invasion of Germany. They always chose land operations.

Any of our naval experts will tell you the German fleet today is inconsequential for invading purpose. The British have humbled the Italian Navy. For Hitler to attempt an invasion of the Americas would be suicide.

SEN. BURTON K. WHEELER

Transports require fleet protection. Unprotected, a German transport with its small guns would be easy prey for the American Navy. German submarines are small. They were designed to operate close to their bases—within a few hundred miles of England. They could not be used to accompany transports in any great number.

U. S. Subs Effective

American submarines are large. They were built for long range. They can cross the Atlantic and back without refueling. They could harass and sink transports over the entire route. No invader could maintain a supply line from Dakar to South America or from Berlin to New York. American bombing planes protected by fighters would meet any invaders. Fighter planes incapable of long distance flights aboard carriers would be the only real protection against these American bombers. And the number of foreign carriers is few—so few that they represent no serious problem.

Assume that the Germans captured the British fleet. Assume that he had developed a powerful navy. Assume that he had the airplane carriers necessary to protect the fleet from bomber attacks. Where would he get the ships to transport the troops? Two or three thousand transports for men, another thousand ships to carry the heavy tanks, the motor vehicles, the military supplies that would be necessary.

Today it is doubtful whether Germany could obtain a hundred small transports. She has been almost reduced to using tugs and barges from the Rhine. It is barely possible that with complete mobilization of shipping, Hitler could transport a hundred thousand men. No army of 100,000 can invade the United States. Why, we would blow them to bits.

Our Problems Abroad

If we go into this war to win, it means we will be the one to provide the 3,000 transports which do not exist. We will be the one that must carry our bombers and fighters thousands of miles. It will be we who attempt to land in Europe against entrenched forces—giant cannons and the air might of Germany. We are the ones whose transports will be vulnerable to to the short radius of active German submarines, speed boats and aircraft based on nearby German, French and Spanish ports. That will be different—far different than repelling any invading force of this hemisphere.

Thus a cold, dispassionate analysis of the facts explodes the fanciful threat of a military invasion of the Western Hemisphere. We are safe now—and for years to come. But the war makers are undaunted. They have conjured another threat—the threat of an economic invasion. And to those who preach economic defeatism, I say, as I said to their craven-hearted allies who fear Hitler will soon be on Broadway, "Have faith in American industry, in American labor, in American business, and in American genius. They are all first class. Free American industry is superior to controlled Nazi industry. Free American workers can produce more than Nazi slaves. And I know that American business men are smarter than any Nazi competitor."

Free Labor Is Strongest

If the economic history of the world proves anything, it proves that low wages and slave labor cannot compete with free labor. American wages have always been high and we have always competed and held our own in world trade. Chinese factories, owned and operated by the British, with cheap coolie labor, have never been a real threat. And in India most factories are equipped with modern English machinery. The great majority of the executives and technical experts are British, the cheapest labor is employed, and yet India is no economic threat.

The plight of India's workers is tragic. Go there, as I have gone there. See them earn a few pennies for their day's labor. See them spend it for the cheapest food. See them sleep at night on the public thoroughfares, on streets and on sidewalks, with only boards or concrete under them, and nothing over them except the heavens and the British flag.

Slave Labor No Match

Cheap labor, slave labor is no match for free workers. If it were, England, who controls the world's largest low wage reservoir or supply, would dominate and monopolize world trade.

I am not afraid of any of these imaginary threats conjured by those who want to take us into a jolly war. I am afraid that if President Roosevelt repudiates his election pledges to the American people not to take us into a foreign war, that the American people will lose faith not only in their President but in their government.

I am afraid that if our national debt grows greater and greater, we will resort to dept repudiation or inflation. I am afraid that if the President ac-

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Brooklyn Rally

Attend the anti-war rally sponsored by the Brooklyn chapter, America First Committee, TUESDAY, JUNE 3, at the Bay Ridge High School, Fourth Avenue and Senator Street, Bklyn.

Speakers: Representatives Hamilton Fish, James F. O'Connor, Dewey Short; John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York chapter, AFC.

Meeting starts 8:00 P. M.

Lindbergh Sees Democracy At Stake In Crisis

Warns Freedoms May Die If Nation Fights In War

Garden Rally Hears America Will Unite If Given Leaders Who Place U. S. First

The United States needs only "adequate leadership, a leadership that places America first," to keep the country out of war and make it so strong that no country will dare to attack us, Charles A Lindbergh declared Friday, May 23, at the America First rally against war at Madison Square Garden, New York City.

Following is the text of Mr. Lindbergh's address at the rally, which was held under the auspices of the New York Chapter:

We are assembled here tonight because we believe in an independent destiny for America. Such a destiny does not mean that we will build a wall around our country and isolate ourselves from all contact with the rest of the world. But it does mean that the future of America will not be tied to these eternal wars in Europe. It means that American boys will not be sent across the ocean to die so that England or Germany or France or Spain may dominate the other nations.

Backs Hemisphere Defense

An independent American destiny means, on the one hand, that our soldiers will not have to fight everybody in the world who prefers some other system of life to ours. On the other hand, it means that we will fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere, and that we will do so with all the resources of our nation.

It means that we rely on our own strength, our own ability, and our own courage, to preserve this nation and to defeat anyone who is rash enough to attack us. It means that we have faith that these United States of ours can compete in commerce or in war with any combination of foreign powers; and that we are no more afraid of the Europe of Germany than our forefathers were afraid of the Europe of France or England or Spain.

Leadership Needed

We in America should have no reason to fear. With adequate leadership we can be the strongest and most influential nation in the world. No other country has as great resources. None is as easily defended.

We lack only a leadership that places America first—a leadership that does for one hundred and thirty million people that Washington did for us when we were only three million people—a leadership that tells what it means and means that it says. Give us that and we will be the most powerful country in the world. Give us that, and we will be so united that no one will dare to attack us.

Our country is not divided today because we fear war, or sacrifice, or because we fear anything at all. We are divided because we are asked to fight over issues that are Europe's and not ours—issues that Europe created by her own short-sightedness. We are divided because many of us do not wish to fight again for England's balance of power, or for her domination of India, Mesopotamia, or Egypt, or for the Polish Corridor, or for another treaty like Versailles. We are divided because we do not want to cross an ocean to fight on foreign continents, for foreign causes, against an entire world combined against us.

Democracy Cannot Be Forced

Many of us do not think we can impose our way of life, at the point of a machine gun, on the peoples of Germany, Russia, Italy, France and Japan. Many of us do not believe democracy can be spread in such a manner. We believe that we are more likely to lose it at home than to spread it abroad by prolonging this war and sending millions of our soldiers to their death in Europe and Asia.

Democracy is not a quality that can be imposed by war. The attempt to do so has always met with failure. Democracy can spring only from within a nation itself, only from the hearts and minds of the people. It can be spread abroad by example, but never by force. The strength of a democracy lies in the satisfaction of its own people. It can be spread abroad by example, but never by force. The strength of a democracy lies in the satisfaction of its own people. Its influence lies in making others *wish* to copy it. If we cannot make other nations *wish* to copy our American system of government, we cannot force them to copy it by going to war.

Dangers of Intolerance

On the contrary, if we go to war to preserve democracy abroad, we are likely to end by losing it at home. There are already signs of danger around us. We have been shouting against intolerance in Europe, but it has been rising in America. We deplore the fact that the German people cannot vote on the policies of their government—that Hitler led his nation into war without asking their consent. But have we been given the opportunity to vote on the policy our government has followed? No, we have been led toward war against the opposition of four-fifths of our people.

We had no more chance to vote on the issue of peace and war last November than if we had been in a totalitarian state ourselves. We in America were given just about as much chance to express our beliefs at the election last fall as the Germans would have been given if Hitler had ran against Goering.

This state of affairs should make every American—even the interventionists—stop and think before we plunge blindly into a second world war. There are many interventionists who actually believe that by going to war we can strengthen democracy throughout the world, and with it all the civilized virtues which we in this country support. These people overlook our failure in the last war "to make the world safe for democracy."

They overlook the persecution and the intolerance which followed that war in Europe. They do not seem to realize that the elements they dislike in Germany lie beneath the surface of every nation; that they are here in America just as they are in Europe, and that nothing is as likely to bring them out as war—especially a prolonged war.

Plea to Interventionists

I opposed this war before it was declared because I felt it would be disastrous for Europe. I knew that England and France were not in a position to win, and I did not want them to lose. I now oppose our entry into the war because I do not believe that our system of government in America, and our way of life, can survive our participation. And here I address a plea to any interventionists who may be listening to me tonight.

I ask them to consider what a prolonged war will bring. I ask them to consider what the last war brought to Europe—to Russia, to Italy, to Germany, and now to France and England and even the smaller countries. I ask them to remember that we in America returned from that war with the loss of relatively few soldiers, but that now we face a war in which our losses are likely to run into the millions, and in which victory itself is doubtful.

I ask them to stop and consider whether democracy, tolerance, and our American way of life are likely to survive in such a struggle. Or may we not find conditions as bad or worse in America after a war, than they are in the dictatorships of Europe today?

It is all very well to shout for war, to say that aggression must be stopped, that our ideals of democracy must be preserved all over the world. But when the shouting is over, then we will be faced with the REALITY of war. Someone must lay plans for invading Germany, for invading Japan, for invading possibly Russia, France, Italy, and Spain as well. Someone must do the fighting; someone the dying.

We Face Staggering Task

When we turn from sentiment and emotion to reality and action, the task we face is staggering. We find ourselves unprepared for war, about to enter an action that will require us to cross two oceans and to invade nations with a far greater population than ours, nations with armies that have been trained for years, armies that have been hardened by generations of warfare, armies that are larger now than ours can ever be.

We find ourselves in a position where we would have to force landings on hostile coasts against the prepared positions of the strongest military powers in the world.

Does anyone think that democracy can survive a conflict such as this will bring? Does anyone think that freedom can exist even in America if we are forced into such a war? The United States is a nation of mixed races, religions, and beliefs. We came from every part of Europe and from every portion of the earth. Here, in this country, we have learned to live peacefully together. Here we have developed a racial tolerance such as the world has never known before. Here we have developed a civilization in many ways never previously approached.

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

Why must all this be jeopardized by injecting the wars and the hatreds of Europe into our midst? Why, in this second century of our national existence, must we be confronted with the quarrels of the Old World that our forefathers left behind when they settled in this country?

People Make Sacrifices

It is to answer these questions, it is to oppose intervention in this war, it is to preserve our American way of life, that you and I have assembled here tonight. We have assembled to show that in times of crisis there still are men and women in this country ready to give up their normal interests and their normal occupations so that our way of life and our right to determine it may survive.

Everyone of us has made some sacrifice to attend this rally. You have given up an evening at home or with your friends. Senator Wheeler has come from Washington to talk to us. He represents the type of leadership that places America first. Mr. Thomas has added this engagement to an already crowded schedule. If all of our leaders had the courage, integrity, and vision that these men have shown, this country would not be on the verge of war today. Mrs. Norris, Mrs. Marquand, Mr. Flynn, all of us on the America First Committee are contributing everything we can to prevent this war and to maintain the way of life we believe in for America.

Strength Is Increasing

I am glad to be able to tell you that our strength is increasing. This meeting is one of many. I have just come from the West, and I can tell you that in every state, in every city, on street corners, and on farms, men and women are meeting, as we have met tonight.

From every section of our country a cry is rising against this war. But it is a cry that reaches beyond the question of war alone. It is more penetrating than that. It echoes from the very foundations on which our system of government is built. It asks how this situation came about. It demands an explanation of what happened at the elections last November. It demands an accounting from a government that has led us to war while it promised us peace.

To both Democratic and Republican leaders, this cry should be a warning of an awakened spirit in our nation—**a spirit that has carried us through times of crisis before, and that will carry us through times of crisis again.**

We in America CAN make our nation an example for the rest of the world. We CAN spread our ideals in other countries. We CAN defend this hemisphere from invasion. And all of this can be accomplished without entering the war. With your assistance, we will create the leadership necessary to do it. The America First Committee asks your help in carrying out this program. We ask you to join with us in demanding that election promises be kept by our leaders.

We ask you to organize in your community, to write to your representatives in Washington, to attend meetings of this kind whenever they are held. Our American ideals, our independence, our freedom, our right to vote on important issues all depend on the sacrifice we are willing to make, and the action we take at this time.

Fish Sees Communism Only Winner In War

Communism will be the only victor if the United States goes into the foreign war, Representative Hamilton Fish declared May 26 at an anti-war rally sponsored by the New Rochelle chapter of the America First Committee. The rally was held at the Albert Leonard High School auditorium, New Rochelle.

"If we are involved in European and Asiatic wars," Mr. Fish said, "it might last twenty years and cost $200,000,000,000 and the lives of millions of American soldiers in China, India, Africa and Europe. The day we enter we will have lost, although we may be victorious in ten or twenty years at the cost of our free institutions, civil liberties and American standards of living."

The rally also heard Representative Karl Mundt of South Dakota.

Taft Calls for Peace Through Strong Defense

Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, speaking over a nation-wide radio broadcast May 29, said peace can be assured the American people if a line is defined in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans against all aggressors and a defense so strong is built that no one will ever dare to attack.

Declaring that only Congress has the right to declare war, Senator Taft said "no nation should go to war unless a majority of the people approve the action."

Senator Taft said the President has no right to declare war whether a national emergency exists or not. "It follows," he said, "that he has no right to engage deliberately in military or naval action equivalent to war except when the country is attacked."

Who are the war-makers seeking to drive this country into the European conflict? Keep informed. Read the A. F. C. Bulletin every week.

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You Can Stop the War-Makers

The President, Senators and Representatives are *your* elected officials. *You* placed them in office to act as *your* agents.

The President, Senators and Representatives DARE NOT AND WILL NOT lead you into a war you—and 90 percent of the American public—do not want . . . IF THEY KNOW HOW YOU FEEL ON THIS ISSUE.

It is therefore your duty to tell them, plainly and frankly, how you oppose the efforts of a noisy minority to drag you into war. It is your duty—to yourself and to your country—to DEMAND that they keep the United States out of war . . . that they save this country from the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives, the crippling of millions more, the destruction of our Democratic form of government, that war would INEVITABLY CAUSE.

This is what you can do to stop the war-makers NOW:

Write or wire President Roosevelt at the White House, Washington, D. C.; your Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.; your Representatives at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Urge your friends, relatives, associates in business, members of your church and social or civic clubs, to write or wire now.

Inform yourself fully on the subject. See that your neighbors are made aware of the awfulness of war and the need of fighting against it now. Distribute anti-war literature to others.

Remember: You elected the President and Congressmen to office. DEMAND NOW THAT THEY KEEP THEIR SACRED ELECTION PLEDGES TO YOU TO KEEP THE COUNTRY OUT OF WAR.

Cause of U.S. Peace Spurred By Fiery Roosevelt Speech

(Continued from page 1)

friends but to do nothing to put us in the war—this keeping up to now his pledge to the people.

Therefore the America First Committee promptly decided what is now seen to be the fact, that we are not at war, that the President actually resisted the war-mongers, that we are, perhaps, a little stronger, since the war-makers have missed their greatest chance yet to push us over the precipice.

The National Emergency, according to the National Committee of the America First Committee, does not in any way affect the rights of the committee itself or its members to carry on their efforts against war.

President's Rights

The President has a right to declare a national emergency. But he gets no rights from that fact, save such as are given to him by various special statutes. Thus the Stock Exchange law provides that the President may, in case of national emergency, close the Stock Exchange.

A number of other laws give him similar rights in the case of an emergency, as taking over the railroads, perhaps taking over plants, subjecting plants to regulation, etc. But he has no power under the law to stop men or organizations from talking, holding meetings, printing or assembling or petitioning. He cannot control newspapers or publishers.

Can Interfere With Radio

He can interfere with the radio. That is because the radio air waves belong to the people and are licensed to private companies by the government. The Communications Act gives him power to take over radio stations or to regulate them in the interest of the emergency.

The National Committee of the America First Committee and the New York Chapter both issued statements to their members calling on them to continue the patriotic work of keeping the country out of war.

Meetings have been held in Philadelphia, Brooklyn, New Rochelle and nightly meetings are being arranged in numerous places.

Members are urged to tell the President what they think of his speech. He will be guided by public reactions to the speech.

Therefore the Committee has urged members to wire if possible—or at least write—and to say they still expect him to keep his pledge to keep out of war.

A Week's Quotes

Senator Burton K. Wheeler: "Just as I know this nation can live in peace, just as I know that we in the Americas could repel and throw back any invading force, so do I know that American labor, American industry and American genius can compete with slave or cheap labor or with totalitarian controlled industry.

"To say otherwise is to indicate lack of confidence and faith in American production."

Hugh S. Johnson: "We have no freedom of the seas today where British interests are involved. You can't, for example, write an airmail letter to Venezuela, via Bermuda, that will not be opened and censored—and we stand for it."

Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota: "If we have to be emotional, let's emote for our own defense. Let's defend America rather than save the world."

Peace

(Continued from page 1)

carrying on a war which may last for a decade and destroy us?

How can a start be made at this? Some responsible statesman must bring the subject up before the combatants.

The way to learn what sort of peace Germany is willing to make is to ask her. It will not do to say that Germany will not do it. The matter is too important for mere speculation and guess-work. Let a start be made. The one thing America needs above everything else is peace—peace upon as good terms for the rest of the world as can be obtained in a very imperfect world.

On the Peace Front

The people are winning their fight to keep out of foreign wars. Huge peace rallies all this week—at Philadelphia, Indianapolis, Bridgeport, New Rochelle—topped by the great demonstration at Madison Square Garden May 23, are helping to convince the President and Congress that America wants no convoys, no subterfuges for convoys, and no war.

Impartial surveys show that most mail received by Congressmen on the war issue takes a positive stand against intervention. An investigation by the New York Daily News revealed that in some cases the percentage of anti-convoy mail runs as high as 90 per cent. These findings agree with those of Pearson and Allen, columnists for the Daily Mirror.

More than 200,000 Bostonians signed and delivered to President Roosevelt this week a strong protest against convoys. Names on the petition extended more than 5,000 feet—almost a mile. The petition reminded the President of his pledge not to send "our Army, Navy or Air Forces to fight in foreign lands, except in case of attack."

Why the interventionists oppose a referendum on war:

A poll conducted by the Indianapolis News showed 92 per cent of its readers opposed to convoying by the United States of ships carrying war supplies to Great Britain; 95 per cent were against the United States entering the war and sending our troops abroad.

In his "fireside chat" May 27, President Roosevelt said:

"We will accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression—freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—freedom from want—and freedom from terror. Is such a world impossible of attainment?"

Comment by the New York Daily News:

"We don't know whether such a world is impossible of attainment. But to attain even a portion of this aim is very difficult. To abolish want, for instance, from the Chinese and British Indians would take, we fear, a pretty long war."

Civil War veterans, marching in the Memorial Day parades, were asked by reporters to give their views of the European war.

Said George Collier, 97 years old, veteran of Appomatox:

"We had our war in the '60s and we had a reason for it—to preserve the union. But war's brutal, son—any war. I'd rather die than see our boys sent to Europe again to fight."

Said William H. Jackson, 98:

"War? Why that's the worst thing that could happen to us! If we start convoying ships to England, it could get us into the war fast."

Wheeler Asks U. S. to Urge Peace Now

(Continued from page 2)

cepts the advice of that little coterie who surround him—most of whom have never faced an electorate, or met a payroll, or tried a lawsuit, and many of whom are impractical dreamers—he will wage an undeclared war. And then Constitutional democracy will end.

Fears Return of Soldiers

I am afraid that when American boys return from Singapore, Dong-Dang, Bombay, Dakar, and the Red Sea—armless, legless, maimed and insane—and when other American boys return to seek jobs when there are no jobs, they will be embittered and disheartened. Some of them will seek those who said election pledges of peace were mere campaign oratory.

I fear the aftermath of war A post war period is far more threatening and dangerous to this democracy than any foreign military or naval force. When we enter the conflict, we would become at that moment a regimented nation. We as individuals would be subordinated to one person—the Commander-in-chief—and to one objective—the waging of war. From such a state, democracy could hardly be restored. Our men and women, disillusioned, disheartened and even destroyed mentally and morally, amid economic chaos and social dislocations, would turn to the man on horseback. Then, and not before, would there arise little American fuehrers and from them would come one native fuehrer—an American Il Duce—an American Hitler.

War Makers Want Blood

Tonight the war mongers and their satellites demand that President Roosevelt assume leadership in their crusade of blood and destruction. They decry his leadership because he has merely taken us to the brink of war. These sordid romanticists, jingoistic journalists and saber-rattling bankers in New York criticize the President for barely keeping his promises. Only war, blood, sweat, tears and destruction can satisfy their lust.

The workers, the farmers, the business and professional men—people from every walk of life look to the President for leadership—for another brand of guidance. They are not alone. The people of all the world look to Franklin D. Roosevelt. They look to him with upturned faces—with prayers on their lips and hope in their hearts. They see him, a symbol of liberty, a champion of the down-trodden. They see him as their knight, a leader for peace.

These people are realists. They are not dreamers. English mothers, Italian mothers, German mothers know what it is to have sons fighting—killing—destroying. Certainly all-thinking people the world over understand the cost and futility of war. They want peace, peace before all the people of the world and civilization are doomed, before they sink into a common grave.

Urges Peace Appeal

The President of the United States could appeal to the world for peace. He could appeal not to Hitler or to Mussolini or Churchill but to the people of Germany, Italy, and England. He could demand that the war makers, the Hitlers of Germany, the Churchills in England and the Knoxes and Stimsons step down and out. I believe he could dictate the peace of the world if he would. But first he must rid himself of those war makers that surround him—who refuse to understand the wishes of the people.

The American people demand that American influence be diverted from the channels of war to the channels of peace. They demand that restitution be made for the bloody and unfilled promises of former Ambassador Bullitt, and Colonel Wild Bill Donovan. The American people know that Bullitt promised Poland we would enter the war, when President Roosevelt was promising our people continued peace.

The American people know that it was Colonel Donovan's promises that sent Jugoslavia into battle. All this they know and as practical idealists they now demand peace. If American war makers are really interested in preserving the British Empire and the British navy, then they too will join and work for peace now.

U. S. Might Stop War

The tremendous power, present and potential of the United States, lent to the cause of peace, might well stop this heartless slaughter of humans and needless destruction of property. With the destiny of mankind in the balance, the time has come to act—to act for a just peace not in the interest of the British tories or imperialists, not in the interests of power or land hungry dictators but in the interest of all the people in the world.

Tonight most of the world is engaged in bloody battle. I ask in behalf if millions that the President of the United States, at the risk of being called an appeaser, appeal to all the people of the world to stop War—now—before it is too late.

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PEACE

"America must not allow England to be defeated."

This is one of those sentences which are used daily by those who are working to push America into the European war.

But this is one of those vague sentences which can mean several different things. What, for instance, is meant by England being defeated? When one thinks of England being defeated he may visualize the Germans invading the British Isles, overrunning her cities, taking over her government, seizing her navy, enslaving her people and imposing a crushing money penalty on them.

But suppose it is possible for England to make peace on some different terms. Suppose England could end the war under a settlement in which Germany would not over-run the British Isles, while Britain would keep herself free, hold possession of her dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and most of her colonies and also her navy.

This would be a defeat for Britain in that she would have to give up something and would fail to conquer Hitler in battle. But this would be something very different from the horrific picture of a completely conquered Britain brought under the heel of Germany.

Suppose England could get such a peace, what would be her answer? She could make one of three answers.

She could say "Yes."

Or she could say "No, we will fight until we can save every last colony we now hold."

Or she could say "No, we will not cease fighting until we have driven Hitler completely out of power, crushed Germany and imposed our will on her."

If the British made the first answer and agreed to settle,

(Continued on page 4)

Join America First

If you are an American citizen, opposed to Nazism, Fascism and Communism, you can help fight war by joining the America First Committee. Contribute to our work. Distribute our literature. Volunteer your services.

Offices of America First Committee chapters in the metropolitan area are:

MANHATTAN — 515 Madison Avenue; 3 East 47th Street (Women's Division); 1050 Second Avenue (Labor and Veterans' Division).

BROOKLYN — 44 Court Street; 79-05 Fifth Avenue (Bay Ridge Division).

BRONX—1910 Arthur Avenue.

RICHMOND — 130 Bay Street, St. George.

QUEENS—75-12 Broadway at Roosevelt Avenue.

CEDARHURST, L. I. — 473 Oxford Road.

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HACKENSACK, N. J.—378 Main Street.

NEWARK, N. J.—32 Commerce Street.

MONTCLAIR, N. J. — 506 Bloomfield Avenue.

Johnson Warns Of War's Chaos

Senator Sees Disaster Ahead If U. S. Goes In

Viewed from every angle, a foreign war for the United States "could be nothing more than disastrous," Senator Hiram W. Johnson of California, ranking Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said May 21 in a nation-wide broadcast delivered under the auspices of the America First Committee.

Senator Johnson said: "Shall this great, peace-loving country that is not a party to the war, that had naught to do with its original declaration, be pitchforked into the brutal conflict from which we have nothing to expect, and everything to lose? It is asserted that we must take sides with all the gruesome horrors in defense of one belligerent, or else we'll be seized by the other and subjected to the most awful indignities.

War Is Issue

"Bluntly, frankly, the issue at stake here is whether we'll go to war.

"On the one side are a smattering of good citizens, the vociferous little puppets of J. P. Morgan & Co., a large part of the press, practically all the columnists, the newspaper correspondents, all crying for war with Germany and against Hitler; on the other side is the great inarticulate mass of citizens like you and me, of Americans who love their country, whose thoughts are ever first for it, and who at all hazards will protect it. . . . .

War Disastrous

"Viewed from every angle war could be nothing more than disastrous. It is pretty to hear the head of the Government boast about what we have done in terms we do not understand, and our readiness to repel any attack from any quarter.

"It makes us all proud to hear him tell about our two-ocean Navy now, and how it would, as we all know, give a good account of itself in case of war; but it is terrible to realize the fact that we have not as yet a two-ocean Navy, and that it could not do what is claimed for it.

"We'll have a two-ocean Navy in time, but ships, like glamour, are not readily built.

Doing All We Can

"It will be claimed that this is a hard-headed, cold-blooded view to take of the situation, and that England is bleeding to death in the meantime—but we are doing everything that we can to help England, and no amount of boasting about what we know is not yet complete will enable us to do the job.

"So, what is better: to continue to help Great Britain, or to boast of our strength and our uncompleted armies, knowing their weakness and unpreparedness.

"No amount of wishful thinking will alter it. But until we must come to grips, it is silly, in-

(Continued on page 3)

K. Of C. Resolution Opposes Foreign Wars

The New York State Council, Knights of Columbus, adopted a resolution opposing American involvement in foreign wars at its convention, May 31, at Saratoga Springs.

U. S. Army Poorly Equipped To Fight In European War

Lacks Tanks, Rifles and Artillery; Navy Has Fewer Ships Than Year Ago

France fell in a month of fighting—BECAUSE SHE WAS NOT PREPARED.

England is being battered to pieces for the same reason.

Now hot-headed men are trying to take the United States into this war far less prepared than even France or England. And they want her to undertake a far more difficult job—to fight a war on every continent and in two oceans without the necessary equipment.

America dare not attempt an invasion of Europe to crush Hitler without sending an army of four or five million men.

In the last war we sent 2,000,000 to France, and there were already 9,000,000 French, British, Belgian, Italian and Russian troops there to greet them. We are not even talking about an army of four or five million.

We have finally assembled an army of 1,400,000.

Army Needs Equipment

But such an army must have equipment. Military authorities estimate that to be effective these 1,400,000 men must have 500,000 rifles, 10,000 tanks, 60,000 planes, 130,000 airplane engines, 17,000 pieces of heavy artillery, 25,000 pieces of light artillery, 13,000 mortars and 300,000 machine guns.

How much have we actually got?

Instead of 500,000 rifles we have 190,000.

Instead of 10,000 tanks we have about 252.

Instead of 100 mammoth tanks we have none.

Instead of 13,000 mortars we have 600.

Instead of 300,000 machine guns we have 5,000.

Artillery Lacking

Instead of 42,000 pieces of light and heavy artillery we have almost none.

In the air we have 9,400 planes whereas we need 60,000 for the job we are talking about. Many

(Continued on page 4)

Fish Says Congress Is Against War

Brooklyn Rally Hears O'Connor And Short

If the question of a declaration of war came up before Congress now, it would be defeated by a margin of two to one, Representative Hamilton Fish, of New York, declared June 3 at a rally of the Brooklyn chapter at Bay Ridge High School.

Asserting that the country is not in the war now and is not going into it, Mr. Fish attacked the newspapers that are endeavoring to pull the United States into the conflict. He especially attacked the New York Herald-Tribune and the New York Times.

Representative James F. O'Connor, of Montana, said the United States can remain at peace if the 80% of the people who have expressed themselves as being against war continue to advise their officials in Washington of this opposition.

President's Pledge Recalled

"During the election campaign," Mr. O'Connor said, "the President pledged that American boys would not be sent to fight in foreign wars.

"A violation of that pledge will do more to undermine democracy than Hitler's legions or his bombs."

The Montana Congressman charged that the propaganda campaign for war was being financed by wealthy interests with their own ends in view, and attacked Secretaries Knox and Stimson and "the Rockefellers and du Ponts and their hirelings who are uttering words that are gold-bought."

Reveals British Tactics

Representative Dewey Short, of Missouri, said British officials in this country, under the leadership of Lord Halifax, were carrying on a spirited campaign for war.

Other speakers at the rally were William T. Leonard, chairman of the chapter; former Juvenile Court Judge Mildred Dugan, of Indianapolis, and Michael Strange.

More than 1,000 attended the meeting, and there was an enthusiastic overflow crowd of 3,000, who listened to the speeches broadcast from amplifiers.

The rally was the second to be sponsored by the Brooklyn Chapter. A previous rally—two weeks ago at the Academy of Music—drew a capacity attendance of 5,000 and an overflow of several thousands.

Dr. Donovan Elected Head Of Bayside Unit

Dr. Herbert Donovan was elected secretary of the Bayside unit, AFC, at a meeting May 28 at the Queens headquarters, 75-12 Broadway. He succeeds John A. Dunstadter who resigned to become chairman of the Queens chapter.

Thomas Donohue remains as executive chairman of the Bayside unit. Miss Florence Flynn is treasurer.

Taft Derides Trade Scares

Hitler Can't Invade Our Markets, He Says

Declaration by President Roosevelt of an "unlimited national emergency" has no effect upon civil rights or upon the basic right of the American people to fight against American involvement in the European war, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio said this week.

In a nation-wide broadcast, analyzing the President's speech of May 27, Senator Taft said:

"I hope that the declaration of unlimited national emergency may be of some assistance to the morale of the defense program, but the idea that it is a declaration of war, or anything like a declaration of war, or causes any suspension of civil rights, is an hallucination.

"The question of war and peace is still before the people of the United States. The President has shown his unwillingness openly to flout their desires. It is still the soleum duty of those who believe as I do to urge upon the people the reasons why this country should keep out of the

(Continued on page 3)

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Lindbergh Says American Security Lies In Peace

Urges We Make Democracy Complete Success At Home

Cites Record Of France And Great Britain Who Tried To Fight Without Preparation

Following is the partial text of the speech, May 29, of Charles A. Lindbergh before a rally of the America First Committee at the Arena, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:

Before this war began there were three great and powerful nations who lived under what we call the democratic system of government. The United States, France and England were the leading democracies of the world. But in each of these nations a group of people arose who advocated intervention in a foreign war without adequate preparation.

In each case, these interventionists claimed that the safety of their own country necessitated going to war to defend some other country. In each case, they refused to consider the military realities involved. They shouted that it was more important to act than to plan; more important to fight than to prepare. Today, only one of those three democracies survives intact, and it is the only one that has not followed its interventionists to war.

Interventionists' Methods

As you know, I have come here tonight to oppose our intervention in this war; to argue against the interventionists. I know of no more effective argument than to recall the record and the methods of the interventionists themselves—first in France and England, and then in the United States.

[illegible] people, can study this record and still permit our government to take us into war, then I believe we deserve the consequences that will follow. . . .

Reality Disregarded

You will recall that the interventionists of England and France persuaded their countries to intervene in a war between Germany and Poland. They first encouraged Poland to fight, and then they shouted that England and France must defend Poland in order to defend themselves.

It was obvious, even at that time, that the French and English forces could do nothing to assist Poland, for the Siegfried Line and the German army and air force lay between. But, as I have said, reality has never seriously affected the interventionists of any country. The moral effect alone, of declaring war on Hitler, they said, would be enough to bring victory. Tanks and airplanes and fortifications were incidental matters.

Same Arguments Again

They used the same arguments, the same tactics, the same propaganda in Europe in 1939 that they are using in America today. The interventionists had their way. Unfortunately, moral effect is not enough against steel and guns. Thousands of brave men died, and Poland fell—half to Germany and half to Russia.

After that, there was still the possibility of a negotiated peace in Europe, but not as far as the interventionists were concerned. And by that time, our interventionists in America were shouting as loudly for the war to continue as were their brethren in Europe. France would never be secure with a negotiated peace, they said, and the very mention of peace showed that Germany was weakening. They were certain she could be blockaded into submission by the British and French fleets.

Victory would be assured, and war could be kept from our shores, they told us, if we in America would only revise our Neutrality Act, and sell arms for cash to Europe. So the blockade was tightened, and the winter slowly passed. Meanwhile, Russia invaded Finland and the sinking of British shipping began.

Told Allies Were Winning

During the winter of 1939 and 1940 we were told that Hitler had been stopped, that the tide of battle had turned, and that the Allies were winning the war. But, by that time, it was necessary to have still more assistance from America—some of the airplanes that had been ordered by our army, and some of the munitions that we in this country would never need. The surest way for America to keep out of war, the interventionists kept telling us, was to send our arms to the Allies.

Then, early in 1940, our radios suddenly announced that Germany had invaded Norway. For a week or two, reports of the war were confusing. The Interven- [illegible] Germans had put their heads in a noose. A great battle was reported in the Skagerrak between the British fleet and the German air force. Thousands of German soldiers were drowned in the Kattegat. The British navy landed troops all along the Norwegian coast. And then, the abrupt announcement came from London that the Allied forces had decided to evacuate Norway.

"War Must Go On"

But, according to the interventionists, the war must go on to preserve democracy in Europe. . . . Germany was using up her resources, they said. She was short of food and fuel. It would only be necessary to sit tight behind the Maginot Line and the British Fleet, and—of course with increasing help from America—it would not be long before Germany collapsed through her exertion and the dissatisfaction of her people.

But while the Allies were tightening their blockade and flooding America with propaganda, Germany attacked through Holland and Belgium. The British army evacuated the Continent, and France fell.

Negotiated Peace Urged

At that time, many of us who did not want to see England defeated advocated a negotiated peace in Europe. We realized how futile it was to carry on a war for which no nation but Germany had prepared. . . .

But the interventionists were still in control. Their personal reputations were at stake. Germany had over-extended herself, they shouted; famine and disease would spread through Europe and the conquered peoples would revolt; Russia would turn against Germany; the British navy would win in the end. But of course it would now be necessary for America to take a more active part in the war—we must send destroyers from our navy; guns and planes from our army and our air force. They attempted to stampede our people through hysteria and fear.

If England fell our turn would be next, they cried; our nation of 130,000,000 people would be invaded like Luxemburg, Holland, and Belgium. Our cities would be destroyed by non-existent fleets of trans-Atlantic bombers. German parachute troops would descend on the streets of New York. Our own President spoke of an air invasion from the arctic wastes of Greenland, and of bombing planes over our cities of the middle west.

False Predictions Again

During the winter of 1940 and 1941, the interventionists again told us that England was winning. It was Churchill himself who said that the British navy had the submarine menace well in hand, and that the Royal Air Force had already won the battle of the air. The interventionists pointed to the Italian reverses in Albania, Libya, and Abyssinia as proof that Germany was losing the war.

But it was necessary for us in America to give still more assistance, they said. We must supply all the arms they needed. We must make our country into "an arsenal for democracy" so that we could save the British Empire from defeat. We might even have to transfer part of our navy to England, they told us, and possibly convoy ships across the sea. But with our assistance, in sufficient quantity, they assured us, there could be no doubt that England would win the war. To think otherwise, they said, was defeatism.

Yugoslavian Defeat

Then came the Yugoslavian episode. The interventionists hailed it with enthusiasm. It was the turning point in the war, they claimed. They told the people of Yugoslavia to fight, and they promised that the resources of America and England would carry them to victory. The Yugoslavians believed, and fought and died.

Then came the fiasco of Grece, and now it is Crete. Always the same story—one defeat after another since this war began. And always the demand for more assistance from America.

First they said, "sell us the arms and we will win." Then it was "lend us the arms and we will win." Now it is "bring us the arms and we will win." Tomorrow it will be "fight our war for us and we will win."

I tell you it is time for our people to ask where we are going, to consider where our course will end. We are not children to be coddled into unpleasant situations. We are not the blind followers of a totalitarian regime. We are the citizens of a free country. We demand the truth from our leaders. We demand that they tell us where they are leading us.

The philosophy of the interventionists is a philosophy of failure. Nothing shows that more clearly than a study of their records in this war. They cannot point to the achievement of a single important success, either in America or Europe. And what are they telling us today? Our own President says that the safety of America lies in controlling the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa. Even Hitler never made a statement like that. Suppose the Germans said that the safety of Europe lay in controlling the Fernando Noronha Islands off the coast of South America. Obviously, this country would go to war. If we take the attitude that we must control the islands of the eastern hemisphere, Europe has just as much reason to demand control of the islands of the western hemisphere. If we say that our frontier lies on the Rhine, they can say that theirs lies on the Mississippi.

War Between Hemispheres

If we attempt to follow a policy such as the President suggests, we will start a war between the hemispheres that may last for generations. Such a policy means that one of the hemispheres must dominate the other before it can be satisfied or successful. Mr. Roosevelt claims that Hitler desires to dominate the world. But it is Mr. Roosevelt himself who advocates world domination when he says that it is our business to control the wars of Europe and Asia, and that we in America must dominate islands lying off the African coast.

I have always been in favor of controlling the islands of our own hemisphere. It is less than two years ago that Administration supporters called me an imperialist for advocating such a policy. But islands lying off the coast of Africa do not belong to this hemisphere, and if we try to control them, we will throw the world into complete chaos by our attempt.

Forgotten Promises

The interventionists have forgotten their promises that all the steps they asked us to take were to be short of war. They now say that the only way for us to defend America is to cross the Atlantic Ocean and fight Europe; to cross the Pacific Ocean and fight Japan; to fight possibly Russia, Italy, France, and Spain as well. They say that the only way we can defend democracy is by adopting the policies of a totalitarian state ourselves. . . .

They have a record of utter failure behind them—Poland, Finland, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia, Greece. Yet now they demand that we too enter the greatest conflict in history, unprepared. I ask you, is our nation to follow them further? Is it not time for us to turn to new policies and to a new leadership?

Security Rests In Peace

The America First Committee stands for leadership of a different type. We have constantly opposed the interventionist philosophy. We believe that the security of our country lies in the strength and character of our own people, and not in fighting foreign wars.

We believe there is a course for us here, a course not of defeatism but of courage, a course that will lead to success and not to failure. We have faith in our own strength [illegible] our own power. We have the ability to fortify ourselves with guns, ships, airplanes, and bases. But more than this, if we act intelligently, we can make democratic government a success here in America. We can establish a better world here, better conditions for the average man, and a better way of life, than Europe has ever seen.

The America First Committee stands for an impregnable defense, a fully informed, free, and self-reliant nation, and a destiny for America that is independent of these everlasting wars in Europe.

Here Are Your Representatives

These are your elected officials. Write to them today. Demand that they keep the country out of foreign wars.

NEW YORK STATE

Senators:
Robert F. Wagner
James M. Mead

Representatives:
(At Large)
Matthew J. Merritt
Caroline O'Day

Cong. District
1. [illegible]
2. William B. Barry
3. Joseph L. Pfeifer
4. Thomas H. Cullen
5. James H. Heffernan
6. Andrew L. Somers
7. John J. Delaney
8. Donald L. O'Toole
9. Eugene J. Keogh
10. Emanuel Celler
11. James A. O'Leary
12. Samuel Dickstein
13. Louis J. Capozzoli
14. M. Michael Edelstein
15. Michael Joseph Kennedy
16. William T. Pheiffer
17. Joseph Clark Baldwin
18. Martin J. Kennedy
19. Sol Bloom
20. Vito Marcantonio
21. Joseph A. Gavagan
22. Walter A. Lynch
23. Charles A. Buckley
24. James M. Fitzpatrick
25. Ralph Abernethy Gamble
27. Hamilton Fish [illegible]
28. William Thomas Byrne
29. E. Harold Cluett
30. Frank Crowther
31. Clarence E. Kilburn
32. Francis D. Culkin
33. Fred J. Douglas
34. Edwin Arthur Hall
35. Clarence E. Hancock
36. John Taber
37. W. Sterling Cole
38. Joseph J. O'Brien
39. James W. Wadsworth
40. Walter Gresham Andrews
41. Alfred E. Beiter
42. John C. Butler
43. Daniel Alden Reed

NEW JERSEY

Senators:
William H. Smathers
W. Warren Barbour

Representatives:
Cong. District
1. Charles A. Wolverton
2. Elmer H. Wene
3. William H. Sutphin
4. D. Lane Powers
5. Charles Aubrey Eaton
6. Donald H. McLean
7. J. Parnell Thomas
8. Gordon Canfield
9. Frank C. Osmers, Jr.
10. Fred A. Hartley, Jr.
11. Albert Lincoln Vreeland
12. Robert Winthrop Kean
13. Mary Teresa Norton
14. Edward J. Hart

CONNECTICUT

Senators:
Francis T. Maloney
John A. Danaher

Representatives:
(At Large)
Lucien L. Maciora

Cong. District
1. Herman Kopplemann
2. William J. Fitzgerald
3. James A. Shanley
4. Leroy D. Downs
5. J. Joseph Smith

Convention Urges War Referendum

The National Keep Out of War Congress, holding a three-day convention in Washington May 30 and 31 and June 1, adopted a resolution calling for a nation-wide referendum before this country would engage in a foreign war.

More than 3,000 persons attended the convention and elected Oswald Garrison Villard, liberal editor, as honorary chairman.

The Congress voiced its opposition to American involvement in war and asserted that by following a policy of true neutrality the United States would be in a strong position to lend economic aid to Europe and Asia at the war's conclusion, when it would be greatly needed.

The proposed referendum of war would be purely advisory and would serve as a guide for Congressional action. The Congress will campaign all over the country on behalf of this proposal.

For the latest news on the peace front, read the A.F.C. BULETIN every week. Subscribe today — three months for fifty cents.

Bronx Names Its Committee

Giaquinto Becomes Executive Chairman

The Bronx County Chapter, 1910 Arthur Avenue, this week announced formation of its chapter committee.

Vincent A. Giaquinto is executive chairman; Dr. Thomas E. Freston is secretary; Charles F. Sander is assistant secretary, and Andrew Smith is treasurer.

Members of the committee are:

The Hon. Charles V. Halley, Jr., Wm. Hughes Mulligan, Thomas Miller, Domenicke E. Muttoro, Robert H. Koff, Mrs. Victor J. Green, Robert N. Baehr, Prof. James O'Brien, Joseph F. Martorana, Louis P. Colombo, Luke C. Garvey, Frank E. Kahl, Miss Joyce E. Enslin, Miss Winifred Stuckman, Miss Rita Masset, Hugo Antonucci, and Robert G. Peters.

College Faculties Urge Convoy Ban

President Roosevelt was reminded of his statement, "Convoys Mean Shooting and Shooting Means Wars," by 150 faculty members of seven New York colleges and universities last week.

In a petition, they urged the President "to heed the will of the American people against the use of convoys, since the use of American ships for such purposes will result inevitably in the sending of an American expeditionary force."

The signers were faculty members of Hunter College, City College, Brooklyn College, Queens College, Sarah Lawrence College, Columbia University and New York University.

Taft Disproves False Invasion Scares, Holds Trade Will Survive Hitler Victory

Ohio Senator Asserts Issue Before People Is Still U. S. Peace

(Continued from page 1)

European war and avoid any action of its military or naval forces which amounts to war.

War Party's Reasons

"Two reasons have been used by the war party during the past year to justify our going to war with a nation that has not attacked us, in violation of the principles which every political party has advocated since the World War. The first is that if Britain should fall, Hitler would destroy our trade.

"The President denounces Hitler and all his views with his usual effective eloquence; and I agree with him entirely about Mr. Hitler and his views, except that I think that Hitler's own self-interest would deter him from undertaking any attack on the United States. But I notice that the President does not claim, as do Secretary Knox and Secretary Stimson, that this country would be helpless against a Hitler attack.

Knows Navy Strength

"He knows that our Navy is twice as strong as the Italian Navy and the German Navy combined and that the Italian Navy is not suited for action in the Atlantic. He knows that a navy, to attack successfully across 3,000 miles of water, must be twice as strong as the defending navy. He knows that the navies of Europe are steadily decreasing in power as the war proceeds, through the sinking of powerful ships, and that we are rapidly increasing the strength of our Navy. He knows that our Navy is today the most powerful navy in the world, and will be for years to come.

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT

"The whole argument of the war party that Hitler can conquer the United States or dominate the seas that surround us has just about faded into the discard.

"But the President now lays more stress on the danger to our trade. He says that Hitler would fasten an economic strangle hold upon us. He threatens the American workman that his wages and hours would be fixed by Hitler. The whole argument is an effort to frighten people into an emotional war fury. To anyone who sits down and examines calmly the real facts relating to our foreign trade the conclusions of the President are wholly unjustified.

"During the two or three years before the war, our total exports amounted to approximately $3,000,000,000, while our national income was approximately $60,000,000,000. This amounts to about five percent of our national income. The other 95 percent arose from sales and services within the United States. Of the total exports, less than one-tenth, or approximately $300,000,000, one-half of one percent of our national income, went to South America.

Says American Navy Increases In Power While Others Decline

Most Went To Canada

"Between seven and eight hundred million dollars went to North America, mostly to Canada, and it is somewhat difficult to see how this is going to be cut down by the Nazis. It is utterly ridiculous to suppose that our trade with South America or Asia, or even Europe, will be wiped out. In spite of our hostility to Japan, she has been one of our best customers. What will Japan do with her silk except sell it to us?

"We take over half of the Brazilian coffee crop. What is Brazil going to do if she does not sell it to us and take our goods in return? Even if the Nazis dominated the Dutch East Indies, there is no way for them to dispose of the rubber produced there except to sell it to us.

Confuse War With Peace

"People who talk of trade interference confuse the conditions of war and peace. Of course, if we are at war with Germany, our trade will be interfered with, as it already is, and as it will be in the event of any war. That is one of the bad things about war. But so long as the Germans make war on us, they will hardly be in a position to build up the permanent trade connections which are necessary to injure our peacetime trade.

"On the other hand, if they wish to compete with us for trade, they will have completely to make over their war economy, which now absorbs the greater percentage of their industrial activity, and tool up their factories for peacetime production.

Trade Will Survive

"Undoubtedly when peace is made they will be dangerous competitors in the world markets. But let us face the facts with regard to our foreign trade. It will not be destroyed, but no matter who wins this war it will not prosper for many years. In any event, the impoverished peoples of Europe will have to work for starvation wages for a long time. Those people will have very little with which to buy our goods. They will undersell us in many countries and with relation to many articles. But that is the result of war, not of German victory.

"If the British win, there will be the same competition from the British, and from the Germans as well, for surely we aren't going to prohibit German exports.

"Let us look at the condition which will exist after the war. We will have the largest Navy in the world, entirely able to see that our ships can go anywhere they wish to go. We have many means by which we can promote our trade. Outside of price competition, we are infinitely better equipped than the Germans will be. We will have more wealth and more gold. If the Germans infiltrate, we can infiltrate."

Queens Units Meet Nightly

Capacity Audiences Attend Office Rallies

Since the Queens Headquarters of the America First Committee were opened officially on May 17 at 75-12 Broadway, Jackson Heights, thousands of members have visited the office.

The organizing committee for Queens was headed by Mr. John A. Dunstadter, chairman; Henry R. Christ, secretary; and Louis H. Lockwood, treasurer.

Headquarters Open Daily

Headquarters have been open daily since the opening night—operated entirely by volunteer workers, headed by Mrs. Dorothea Casau and Mrs. Rose De Luca. Frederick Mohr decorated the windows and front of the Headquarters to make a striking display.

Seats for 115 people have been provided, and many meetings have been held with a capacity attendance.

Units have been formed for Flushing, Woodside, Sunnyside, Elmhurst, Jackson Heights, Queens Village, Bellrose, Bellaire, Corona and Bayside.

Chairmen of these units are Ralph Mutter, Miss Elizabeth Trachsel, Mrs. Dorothea Casau, O. Fabel, Mrs. Rose De Luca and Thomas Donohue.

New Units Being Formed

In addition, units are now being formed at Jamaica, Forest Hills, Kew Gardens, Astoria, Glendale and other sections of Queens.

Next week the following meetings will take place at the Headquarters: Monday — Elmhurst, Jackson Heights; Tuesday—Open house; Wednesday—Flushing; Thursday—Woodside, Sunnyside; Friday—Richmond Hill; Saturday—Open house.

Meetings begin at 8:15 p.m., and all Queens residents are welcome.

Johnson Warns Financial Ruin And Chaos Will Face U. S. If We Enter Foreign War

(Continued from page 1)

deed a crime, for this country to gamble with its precious heritage. In the language of Dean Hutchins, of the University of Chicago, 'we simply will be committing suicide.'

"This is no defeatist view, but a plain statement of facts. . . .

War Would Be Folly

"The evidence is highly preponderant that until we shall have prepared ourselves it would be folly to get into this war. Remember, we have not declared war, and war has not been declared against us.

"We have touched but faintly upon what war would mean in our present unprepared state. It is the horror, and the blood-letting, the maiming and the killing of youngsters that appeal to me.

"It is enough that war would mean the shedding of innocent blood in such fashion as we have never known before, but if this does not touch my listeners tonight, think of the material that war would cost.

Chaos Would Follow

"I shall not pile Ossa on Pelicon in estimating the value of the material things; but if we have war, win or lose, we'll reach a period in our finances of inflation, or repudiation, either of which would mean financial ruin and chaos.

"You have seen how somebody in his entourage reaches out for drama, and has all the nations of South America represented. Sparse was the representation of our own citizens, numbering over one hundred and thirty millions. You who heard him on that occasion over the radio and could measure the power and the pride with which he talked.

"In the excitement of the moment, or the drama that was put on, he forgot this great pulsating Democracy of ours, except to say that we would never consent to accept, and would not permit a Nazi shape of things to come. Of course, we'll never accept the Nazi shape, nor permit Nazi things to come. Americans have never yet been so cowardly as to permit Nazi regime, or any other, to work its will. . . .

America Needs Men

"If ever there was a time in the history of this country when it is the duty of Americans to stand forth and be men it is now. It will soon be too late, and then the outstretched hands of liberty may no longer join yours.

"The propaganda is abroad today in far greater volume than ever before. We were subject during the last year to it, and the books which have been written since by the men who were guilty of it have exposed it.

"Not only that, but whole flocks of titled Englishmen and English women, have gone about our country lecturing and wheedling us into war. The British Ambassador himself set a bad example as openly he has gone from city to city in its behalf. Societies under all sorts of names have been formed.

Who Puts Up Money?

"Where the money comes from to support all of these, the ordinary citizen can only guess, but it has been spent without stint during the past ten days. Full page advertisements have been carried by our newspapers calling upon authoritative action and citizens to contribute.

"In this country, I would not shut off a single one of these people because of the precious regard I have for the right of free speech, but when an invidious epithet is applied to Col. Lindbergh and pious Philadelphia closes its halls to him, I think that it is quite time that America cries out against this sort of thing.

Won't Be Frightened

"Now I am fully aware that to speak this way opens me to the charge of Nazi, and, because it is viler, of being a 'copperhead,' but some of us were made of such stuff that we won't be frightened, nor cajoled when the liberties that are ours—the sacred, personal liberties, are attacked. All of our precious civil liberties will be lost in the mad adventure and the fantastic enterprise.

"It is only a step now to forbid free speech in this country, and the minority of our citizens who are so enthusiastic for Britain would justify it; and perhaps, the concentration camp would follow; but there are some of us who laugh at a concentration camp, and who are old enough to spend the rest of their days in one laughing"

Women United Plan Protest Trip

Another protest trip to Washington is being sponsored by Women United, 11 West 42nd street. The trip will be made Thursday, June 12, on a special train leaving Penn Station, New York, at 8:05 a.m., Daylight Saving Time.

Members of the party will visit their Congressmen, impressing them personally with the necessity of keeping out of foreign wars.

Mrs. Hall Herrick, president of Women United, said a previous trip two weeks ago was highly successful in giving Congressmen an effective idea of how the people back home oppose going to war.

She said she believed personal calls on Representatives make a more lasting impression upon them.

Round-trip tickets for the trip June 12 are $4.50.

The A.F.C. BULLETIN tells what you can do to insure our nonintervention in foreign wars. Fifty cents brings it to you for three months. Subscribe today.

Listen To These Radio Broadcasts

SUNDAY, June 15. "American Forum Of The Air," WOR and Mutual Broadcasting System. 8:00-8:45 P.M., EDST. Michael Strange and Mary Hillyer will speak for America First.

SATURDAY, June 21. America First Speaker, WABC and Columbia Broadcasting System, 8:30-8:55 P.M., EDST.

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What Peace Does Britain Want?

(Continued from page 1)

the world would again see peace. It would be a peace in which England would retain all the defensible portions of her empire, plus her navy and in which the threat of Nazi domination and attack on the United States would be removed.

If the British said "No," then we would know what she is fighting for and what we are asked to fight for.

Having rejected the chance to save herself and her free dominions and her navy, we would then know that she would be fighting to save her Asiatic possessions, all her African colonies and her dominions of the Mediterranean. Are the American people willing to join Britain to fight for that? Every man in his senses knows they are not. To save Britain from defeat which would mean conquest and enslavement by Germany is one thing.

To save Britain from defeat which would mean her domination of the world is another thing and every sane statesman knows that the leader who would dare bring America into such a war would pay a terrible penalty in history.

America Would Know Peace Terms

If Britain says she would not make peace until she had crushed Germany even though she could save her empire and her navy, then America would know, if she joined such a war, what she would be fighting for.

She would not be fighting to save England. She would not be fighting to save herself from attack, because that could be done without fighting. She would be fighting to help England crush her old enemy, Germany, and make herself the dictator of the continent of Europe.

Do we want to enter upon such an adventure? Do we imagine that we can re-shape the continent of Europe, remold its frontiers, re-make its governments and revive its economic system? We must know that we cannot do that.

If America and England could carve up the European continent, rebuild its governments and recreate its economy in accordance with perfect wisdom, it wouldn't work, for the very reason that it would be imposed upon Europe. She would throw it off at the first opportunity and we would have to keep the continent filled with our armies to make it last.

Killings In Germany Implied

There are men in England who are determined to have vengeance on Hitler and Germany. Mr. Churchill has been talking about the "Germans who are curable and the Germans who are killable." He implies that there must be plenty of killing in Germany before the rest can be subjected to cure by Great Britain. That will not make peace on the continent or in this world.

The best friend of Britain and of America and of the world is that statesman who can bring about a peace now on the best possible terms to save as much as possible for Britain.

The greatest service that America can perform for Britain now is to get her the best possible peace in the shortest time.

Barry Says People's Mail Is Winning Peace Fight

Queens Representative Declares War-Makers Are Losing Ground

The people's protests by letters and telegrams to the President and Congress to keep the United States out of war is a vitally important factor in the struggle for peace, Representative William B. Berry of Queens asserted this week.

Proving that letters are being carefully read and studied in Washington, Representative Barry said:

"It is my conviction that this nation would be in a shooting war by now had it not been for the mail back home informing the President and the Congress that the great majority of Americans are definitely opposed to taking part in any more of the Old World's periodical blood baths.

"The warmongers are losing ground with the people in spite of the most highly geared propaganda drive that the world has ever known.

"Congress is responsible only to the people.

"We are now fighting the battle of America and we must win."

WILLIAM B. BARRY

A Week's Quotes

SENATOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON of California: "If ever there was a time in the history of this country when it is the duty of Americans to stand forth and be men it is now. It will soon be too late, and then the outstretched hands of liberty may no longer join yours.

"The propaganda is abroad today in far greater volume than ever before. We were subject during the last war to it, and the books which have been written since by the men who were guilty of it have exposed it."

SENATOR BENNETT CLARK of Missouri: "Until the President himself directly repudiates the solemn pledges to the American people upon which he won his re-election, we will not believe that he intends to betray those of us who so sincerely believed in the sincerity and authenticity of those solemn pledges."

NORMAN THOMAS: "To seize Dakar, to protect Brazil, to protect Washington, would require us soon to seize Gibraltor to protect Dakar.

"In that way madness lies."

ALFRED M. LANDON: "Wars are not won by bluff and bluster. They are not won by clever diplomatic moves. It is plainly evident that the war party in the United States is magnifying the difficulty of defending the Monroe Doctrine, just as they minimize the enormous difficulty of Hitler in attacking it successfully.

"It may well be, if we do not change our national habits, that the future historian will refer to our generation as seeing the end of the republic."

SENATOR WAYLAND BROOKS, of Illinois: "This country is prepared to prepare. We wholeheartedly want production and more production of the modern machines of modern war—ships, trucks, tanks, and planes—with speed, with armor, and with firing power. We want the modern implements of war.

"Give us these and we will be a united people, ready to fight and to die in the defense of our country. But we do not want to be kidded, pushed, backed, or driven into a European war."

BENJAMIN DECASSERES: "Dorothy Thompson says:

" 'If one set of people are told to fight for this (our) way of life and another are told to conquer the world, the latter will win.'

"When did the latter happen, Miss Thompson?"

SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON, of Colorado: "Britain could have made a better peace a year or six months ago than she can today. She can make a better peace today than she probably can six months from now. Therefore the sooner peace is established, the better it will be for Britain."

Richmond Chapter Sponsors Meeting

More than 300 persons were expected at a rally of the Richmond chapter June 6 at Bon Ton Hall, Mariners Harbor, Staten Island. Speakers were to be Vincent Drurly and Frank Paulo. John F. Kavanagh, chairman of the chapter, was to preside.

Keep informed of the latest developments in the American people's struggle for peace. Learn how you can help keep this country out of foreign wars. Subscribe for the A.F.C. BULLETIN today.

On The Peace Front

A "chain-letter" peace idea, started in Wisconsin, is sweeping across the country and resulting in tons of anti-war mail in Washington.

Volunteers, provided with stationery and stamps, make a house-to-house canvass of their neighborhood, contacting as many people as possible and urging them to write four letters opposing U. S. involvement in the war. One letter goes to President Roosevelt, two to the Senators from the State, and one to the Representative for the district. The volunteer waits until the letters are written and addressed, then stamps them and mails them.

This plan gets many people to write who otherwise might "never get around to it."

Thirty-seven liberal editors, clergymen, educators and other leaders this week adopted a resolution calling for the United States to stay out of foreign wars. The resolution pointed out that "conditions of international anarchy" are caused by war, and that the extension of democracy, civil liberties and economic security in America can best be achieved by peace.

In a front-page article the Chicago Tribune this week called on President Roosevelt to promote peace between Great Britain and Germany. The Tribune said:

"President Theodore Roosevelt promoted a negotiated peace between Russia and Japan (Great Britain's ally), bringing to an end the bloody Russo-Japanese war. He won the blessings of the whole world and received the Nobel Peace Prize. This negotiated peace has endured 36 years—much longer than the dictated peace of Versailles.

"President Franklin Roosevelt now has the opportunity of promoting a negotiated peace between Great Britain and Germany. It may be the surest means of saving the British Empire. It certainly would save America from a disastrous war at a great military disadvantage, a war in which we have everything to lose and nothing to gain.

"The President would win the immortal gratitude of all humanity."

Low-income families and families on relief are now beginning to feel the pinch of the "All-out Aid to Britain" program. The price of butter is rising constantly, and it has been taken from the list of surplus foods distributed to poor families by the Surplus Marketing Administration. This is because makers of butter have been encouraged by the Administration to switch to cheese and other concentrated foods [illegible] which are going to England. With less butter on the market in this country, prices have risen almost ten cents a pound.

Giving added proof that the President's "Fireside Chat" of May 27 consituted a distinct let-down for the interventionist minority in this country, columnists O'Donnell and Fleeson of the New York Daily News reported this week that there has been more peace talk heard in Washington since the broadcast than at any previous time since the war began.

Many letter-writers to Washington are urging that the President make some effort to halt the war now. They point out that Britain could probably get much better terms now than she could later.

The Richmond chapter has developed a good program for rallies to insure the writing of letters and telegrams against war. At its rally May 29, 225 postal cards and 133 telegrams were sent to the President, Senators and Representatives. A table was set up in the lobby and persons attending the rally were urged to write or wire immediately. Facilities were provided for them to do this.

U.S. Army Poorly Equipped To Fight In European War

(Continued from page 1)

of these planes are obsolete, many of them—almost half—are just training planes.

Navy Has Fewer Ships

Our navy is far better off. We have the best navy in the world but there are a few points about it worth remembering.

First, we actually have fewer ships than we had a year ago. A year ago we had 395 war ships. Today we have 334—or 61 less. The reason for this is that we gave 50 destroyers to Britain and we converted 45 other naval vessels to other uses. These deductions less the new ships built during the year leave us with 61 vessels less than when we started the armament race.

Second, this is a one-ocean navy. But if we go into this war it will be a two-ocean war—probably a three-ocean war for we shall be engaged in the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian oceans.

A two-ocean navy is planned. It calls for 692 fighting ships. That is what we would need now to fight a two-ocean war. But we have only half that number of ships.

Supply Bottle-neck

If we send an army overseas we will have to keep it supplied. Military authorities estimate that at least 13,000,000 tons of merchant shipping is needed for that purpose per month. We have only 7,051,000 tons. We supplied our army in the last war because we had all the tonnage of America, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and seven other countries.

Are you ready to plunge the United States into a war in the course of the next few weeks or months with this utterly and pitifully inadequate force to fight a war so far from home? This is what the war-makers are trying to do.

Are they thinking about America?

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PEACE

A strange slur on the President of the United States has been bandied about by some of the interventionist columnists and interventionist senators in Washington.

Alsop and Kintner, two of the most industrious "hurry-up and fight" news columnists, have just written that the President is literally scheming to evade his pledge of peace. The President, they tell us, feels that he is checked by the many promises to keep out of war he has made. He does not feel he can openly and directly violate them. But, say these gentlemen, he can get around them "the smart way." The smart way, they explain, is to try to provoke the Germans into shooting at us. Then the President can start shooting back.

Grave Charge to Make

This is indeed a grave charge to make against the President. To say that he will not shoot first because he promised the people not to shoot but that he will go around tantalizing, insulting and provoking a foreign nation into shooting at us is to accuse him of a form of duplicity which his worst enemies would not dare bring against him.

But we must remember that this charge was not made against him by America First but by men who pretend to be his friends. They are not his friends, of course. They are members of the war-making bund which wants to use him and does not care very much whether or not they ruin him in the process.

Willkie's Morsels

Mr. Wendell Willkie, speaking in Chicago at a war rally, delivered himself of two precious morsels of wisdom.

First, he appealed to the country to unite behind the President. He was behind the President, he said, and he would continue to support him as long as he believed in his foreign policy. In other words whenever Mr.

(Continued on page 3)

U.S. Can Beat Nazis' Trade

Baruch Allays Fear Of Economic Loss

Bernard Baruch, chairman of the World War Industries Board and a close economic adviser to President Roosevelt, this week dismissed fears that a victorious Germany might "ruin our foreign trade" if we failed to enter the war to stop her now.

Mr. Baruch, in an interview published in the Wall Street Journal, declared that at the end of the present war Germany will be in a much weaker position than the United States.

Sees Europe Imporerished

He said that even if Hitler controlled the entire European continent, he would have to trade elsewhere because the European countries would be too impoverished to buy many products.

If the Germans tried to trade in now neutral markets, Mr. Baruch said, American industries could undersell them because of mass production methods which keep costs low and improve the quality of our goods.

Cites Report

He cited a report recently received by an American company of a factory it owns in Germany. Despite low wages and long hours, the German plant is unable to turn out the same products as cheaply as the American factory.

"They can make gimcracks where we don't make them," he declared, "but there is no reason why we can't undersell them in mass production products, provided we maintain a low price structure."

He predicted that if American prices are not permitted to rise too high during the war, when peace is declared in Europe Germany will be forced to bear the brunt of post-war unemployment and economic problems.

Prospects For Peace Gain As Roosevelt Checks War Bloc

YOU

In this half-mad war-hysterical world—where do YOU come in?

What can YOU do about it?

Maybe you think yourself too small to be of any influence against the powerful forces leading us to war.

But you are wrong. Those forces are not powerful. That is, whatever power they have they get from the support of a number of little people like ourselves. And the big point to remember is that there are more on our side than there are on the other side shouting for war. The difference is that they keep shouting—and shouting all together.

Think of yourself, therefore, as one of the vast majority of Americans who are against war, and lift your voice as one of many millions.

But you must lift it. You must talk among your friends. You must talk to your neighbors, and above all, you must keep telling President Roosevelt that you expect him to keep us out of war.

Do not hesitate to write.

Ever since the President's fire-side chat he has been watching for the reaction from the country. Here is your chance. Tell him what you think—not a long letter—just a short note—a postal.

Get your friends to write. Explain to them that this is our biggest and best weapon to maintain peace now.

Interventionists Grow Impatient As 'Last Step' Becomes More Remote

Washington, D. C., June 11. —Opponents of America's entry into the war are more hopeful today than they have been at any time in the last month. This is based on several factors.

First, there is a general feeling that the President has put the brakes on his surrender to the war party. One evidence of this is the very evident and scarcely concealed impatience of the war groups at the President's "reluctance to take the final step." Some go so far as to criticize him vigorously.

Senators Draw Back

Second, there has been a noticeable drawing-back by senators who had been looked upon as staunch interventionists. For instance Senator Tom Connally, of Texas, said to reporters that if we could save England and her navy, that's as much as we need do as we couldn't be expected to attempt to arrange and guarantee the boundary lines of Europe.

Third, the growing publicity given to our complete unpreparedness for taking part in a European war—to say nothing of one in Europe and Asia—has had a very sobering effect on many people. The United States simply hasn't the guns, planes, tanks, and other implements to fight now and won't have for several years. Many responsible men in Washington believe that the President is deeply impressed by the peril of taking an unprepared country into war.

England's Friends Hurt Her

Fourth, the feeling that England needs to be saved from her friends is also gaining ground. Some who want to help England as much as possible now feel

(Continued on page 3)

Lindbergh Asks War Group Be Ousted From Leadership

Charles A. Lindbergh called again this week for new policies and new leadership that place America first.

In a telegram to the Baltimore Sun Mr. Lindbergh explained that this new leadership could be obtained by supplanting the interventionist bloc which the nation has been following in recent months with non-interventionist leaders.

Mr. Lindbergh was asked by the Baltimore Sun to explain what he meant in his Philadelphia address of May 29 when he used the expression of "new leadership," and how this proposal could be worked out within the framework of the Constitution.

He replied:

"My reference to the need for new leadership applied to the leadership of the interventionists which the nation has been following in recent months. This is obvious if you read the paragraph of my Philadelphia address in which I asked, 'Is it not time for us to turn to new policies and new leadership?'

"In many press reports my question was removed entirely from its context. Neither I nor any one else on the America First Committee advocates proceeding by anything but constitutional methods.

"It is our opposition (the interventionists) which endangers the American Constitution when it objects to our freedom of speech and expression. Under the Constitution we have every right to advocate a leadership

(Continued on page 3)

Join the America First Committee

If you are an American citizen, opposed to Nazism, Fascism and Communism, you can help fight war by joining the America First Committee. Contribute to our work. Distribute our literature. Volunteer your services.

Offices of America First chapters in the metropolitan area are:

Manhattan
New York Chapter,
Edwin S. Webster, Jr., Secy.,
515 Madison Ave.
Women's Division,
3 East 47th St.
Labor and Veteran's Division,
1050 Second Ave.
Wall St. Division,
111 Broadway.

Brooklyn
44 Court St.

Bronx
1910 Arthur Ave.

Queens
75-12 Broadway,
Jackson Heights.

Long Island
Central Long Island Chapter,
Mrs. Matthew Mason,
Medford.
Five Towns Chapter,
Judge Edgar Treacy,
475 Oxford Road,
Cedarhurst.
Freeport Chapter,
James A. Coveney.

North Shore Chapter,
William S. Thomas,
Cove Road, Oyster Bay.
Rockville Center Chapter,
55 Front St.

Westchester County
Westchester County Chapter,
Allan Campbell,
99 Pondfield Road, Bronxville.
New Rochelle Chapter,
William J. Baxter,
102 Elk Ave.

Staten Island
Mrs. Lila P. Jump,
130 Bay St., St. George.

New Jersey
State Headquarters,
32 Commerce St., Newark.
Bergen County Headquarters,
378 Main St., Hackensack.
Trenton Chapter,
H. W. Beal,
47 Oak Lane.

Red Bank Chapter,
Robert D. Williamson,
Shrewsbury.

LaFollette Urges U. S. Unity By President Keeping Peace

An united country and impregnable national defense can be achieved in the United States if the President will say plainly that he will keep his pledge of last October to keep the country out of war, former Governor Philip L. LaFollette of Wisconsin declared June 5 at a mass meeting of the Baltimore chapter.

Mrs. Robert A. Taft, wife of the Ohio Senator, also spoke at the rally. She said there is no disunity in this country on defense, but that the American people do not stand behind the Administration in steps toward war.

Mr. LaFollette said:

"The first essential for our national safety is a united country. That essential unity can be secured overnight by a ten-word, unequivocal statement by the President that he is going to be faithful to his pledge to keep America out of other people's wars. A leadership that demands faith from others should first keep faith with itself.

"The second essential is new and responsible leadership in Washington. There is nothing in the Constitution that says the President has to run the whole show all alone. There are thousands of experienced men who will gladly serve under the President in this emergency. But anyone who has run a corner grocery store knows that you cannot do a job if the boss keeps you as window dressing.

"The refusal thus far of the President to delegate even a few of his vast array of powers has turned Washington into a bedlam of confusion unparalleled in our history.

"The War Department is headed by a Wall Street lawyer who was old when the last war began. The navy is under an excited and excitable newspaper publisher whose knowledge of the sea would be stretched if he commanded a row boat.

"The Treasury is headed by a city farmer. The Interior De-

(Continued on page 2)

Peace Letters Bear Weight

Mail to Washington Heavily Anti-War

An impartial poll by the New York Daily News proved this week that letters to Congressmen against war are impressing them with the overwhelming public feeling against involvement.

In an article June 6, the Daily News published comments by Senators and Representatives who told how the anti-war mail is running much more heavily than any other kind.

Convoys Opposed

Among the comments were:

Senator Wagner of New York —"On the subject of convoys, about 100 to 1 are opposed."

Senator Tobey of New Hampshire—"Easily 95% are for keeping out of war. Those people who can afford expensive stationery seems to be in favor of naval escorts. But the general mail pleads with us to keep the country out of war."

Senator Chandler of Kentucky —"We get cards from the entire country, quite a number from New York and Southern California. The majority of these are against convoys and war."

90% Against War

Senator Brooks of Illinois—"About 90% are against convoys and war, with most of the letters coming from Illinois."

Representative Robison of Kentucky—"More than 90% of the mail from my district is opposed to convoys or to any step toward war."

Senator Wheeler of Montana—"Practically 100% are against convoys and war."

Congressman Osmers Hits 'Smear Campaign'

Representative Frank C. Osmers of New Jersey, ardent non-interventionist, spoke before a meeting of the Committee to defend America by aiding the Allies this week to assail that group for attempting to call him a Nazi sympathizer. Representative Osmers said "a mass smear campaign without equal in American history" is now being carried on by the war-makers.

How You Can Multiply Your Influence— Get Others To Make Their Voices Heard

Here is how you can multiply your influence a hundred-fold—inspiring and leading others to make their voices heard in this struggle for peace:

1.—Provide yourself with stationery and stamps. Personally call on ten of your friends and ten neighbors. Ask them to write a short note to President Roosevelt while you wait. See to it yourself that the letters are stamped and mailed. Urge your friends and neighbors to call on ten others and to carry on an endless chain of action.

2.—Always carry several penny postal cards with you. When your friends in business, in church or civic groups express opposition to foreign war, urge them to translate their talk into action—to write a short note on the card, such as "Dear Mr. President: Please keep us out of war." These cards can be written any place in a few seconds. See that the cards are properly signed and addressed and mail them yourself.

IF YOU SET FOR YOURSELF A QUOTA OF ONLY THREE CARDS A DAY, FOR THE PRICE OF A DAILY NEWSPAPER YOU WOULD BE PERFORMING A TREMENDOUS SERVICE FOR YOUR COUNTRY.

3.—When the subject of war is discussed in social gatherings, urge everyone present to take just a few minutes to write their own letters to the President against war. In a few minutes, they can do something CONSTRUCTIVE to keep the country out of war.

4.—In your ordinary letters to relatives and friends, include some pieces of anti-war literature. Urge them to do the work in their neighborhoods that you are doing in yours.

People's Letters Have Proved Value

The value of letters and telegrams in serving as a guide to Congressmen on national policies has been proved on numerous occasions in the past four years.

Virtually all commentators agree that the Supreme Court enlargement plan and the first reorganization bill would have been passed by Congress had it not been for the fact that an aroused electorate proved by letters, post cards, and wires, that they were against the measures. Heeding the wishes of the people, Congress defeated them.

That the United States is not in the war today is due to the fact that the American people are opposed to involvement and are making that opposition known in Washington. If the people continue to protest any further steps that will lead to war, the President and Congress will be forced to abide by them.

Women United Protest

Women United, 11 West 42nd Street, was to sponsor a special trip to Washington June 12 to protest against further steps to war and against the slowing up of national defense by "Communist-led" strikes.

Barton Tells How To Write

Explains Brief Letter Is Best For Congress

Bruce Barton, former Representative from New York, maintains that the best letters to Congress are short, pointed ones that express an individual's own convictions on public issues.

In a recent article, "How To Write Your Congressman," appearing in the Reader's Digest, Mr. Barton said:

Does Good To Write

"Does it do any good to write your Congressman? Does it! He spends more time reading and replying to his correspondence than in any other part of his work . . . Your letters average 110,000 each day, rising to a half a million or more when you really get excited. Members rely on the mail for support and guidance. They often gather from your letters courage to withstand pressure from the Administration or from an organized group . . .

Forceful Notes Urged

"The communication which does the most good is the brief forceful note reflecting an individual's firm conviction . . . Your request should be accompanied by enough logic to show that it is your own idea, not merely a willingness to do a favor for some organization. Congressmen know that only the voter who sits down and expresses his feelings in his own language will remember them on election day . . .

"State concisely what you want and why. If you don't know, don't write. Leave out clippings, even though you think that some prepared statement best expresses your feelings. Your Congressman wants to know what you think. Never threaten. Never say: 'Many others feel as I do, and unless you vote,' etc. A Congressman is human and threats make him feel resentful. If other voters do feel as you do, he knows he will hear from them . . .

Effect Of Letters

"Congressmen don't always 'vote the mail' . . . (But) Of twelve issues that have brought heavy mail in recent years, nine were voted in accordance with the overwhelming mail demand. In the order of the amount of mail they inspired, these were: the proposed Supreme Court packing, the first government reorganization bill, woman suffrage, the League of Nations, soldiers' bonus, prohibition and repeal, social security, holding companies. On two major issues, Congress voted contrary to the mail: lifting the embargo on arms and the Townsend Plan."

Webster Reports Membership Gains

Membership of the America First Committee in the metropolitan New York area has more than doubled in the last two weeks, Edwin S. Webster, Jr., Secretary of the New York Chapter, announced this week.

In addition many new chapters have been chartered and chapters previously chartered have expanded their work through opening branch offices.

As of Saturday (June 7th) the total membership for the metropolitan area was 76,471, which contrasted to 25,000 on April 22d —the day before the Manhattan Center rally which brought an increase of 10,000 members in four days.

The latest office to be opened is at 111 Broadway (the Trinity Building). This is on the first floor and directly across the corridor from the office of the British War Relief organization.

Other chapters and offices recently opened include:

Long Island—Five towns, 475 Oxford Road, Cedarhurst; Freeport; North Shore and Rockville Center.

Westchester — County Headquarters, 99 Pondfield Road, Bronxville; New Rochelle, 102 Elk Avenue.

New Jersey State Headquarters have been opened at 32 Commerce Street, Newark, and chapters have been chartered in Hackensack, Montclair, Red Bank and Trenton.

Unity Urged By LaFollette

He Asserts President Should Keep Pledges

(Continued from Page 1)

partment is the sounding board for the Administration hatchetman.

"With some of the toughest labor problems in history, the Department of Labor is in charge of a charming lady.

Bureaucracy Rampant

"The stupendous job of the lease-lend bill is administered from a White House bedside by an ex-social worker. And to cap the climax the whole vast take of production for defense is enmeshed in so many bureaus, committees and agencies that one is fortunate if at the end of a week you can find somebody who can tell you not that you are in the right place but that you are in the wrong building.

"America still has time. Time to put our house in order—time to prepare our defense to make the Western Hemisphere impregnable from attack either economically, politically or by any combination of aggressors.

Time Important

"Time is one thing Congress cannot appropriate and the clock cannot be turned back even by a fireside chat.

"The nation looks to the President for leadership—not to divide us by involement in a foreign war but by getting down to brass tacks here at home."

Mr. LaFollette said he had been to Europe several times and that he "never met a single leader who ever lost a wink's sleep over the United States. They were and are always thinking of themselves."

Cites Consequences

Mrs. Taft said nobody has the right to urge war who will not face the consequences.

"Have we so little frankness that we don't think of the sufferings of our own people in the event of war?" she asked. "There are 10,000 men in hospitals today who gave their lives for nothing. They fought for things that have not been achieved. We owe them a pledge not to send another generation to death or worse."

For the latest news on the peace front, read the BULLETIN every week. Subscribe today—three months for fifty cents.

WE NEED YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT NOW

The extent of our activities depends entirely on the contributions of our members.

Your contribution enables us to conduct meetings, publish literature and interest new minds in our work.

If you possibly can, will you please contribute now to carry on this important work? Your contribution, however small, will enable us to reach and influence others—to broaden the scope of this movement so that we will be able to reach thousands of new members weekly.

Please send in a contribution today. Get others to contribute. With your help—and only with your help—America First can sweep the country.

FILL OUT THIS FORM NOW

I enclose $.....to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

NAME .....

Address .....City .....

☐ I am a member of America First.

☐ I wish to enroll as a member of the America First Committee. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power or subversive organization.

Send This Form To
AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 515 Madison Ave., New York City.

Here Are Your Representatives

These are your elected officials. Write to them today. Demand that they keep the country out of foreign wars.

NEW YORK STATE

Senators:
Robert F. Wagner
James M. Mead

Representatives:
(At Large)
Matthew J. Merritt
Caroline O'Day

Cong. District
1. Leonard W. Hall
2. William B. Barry
3. Joseph L. Pfeifer
4. Thomas H. Cullen
5. James H. Heffernan
6. Andrew L. Somers
7. John J. Delaney
8. Donald L. O'Toole
9. Eugene J. Keogh
10. Emanuel Celler
11. James A. O'Leary
12. Samuel Dickstein
13. Louis J. Capozzoli
14. M. Michael Edelstein
15. Michael Joseph Kennedy
16. William T. Pheiffer
17. Joseph Clark Baldwin
18. Martin J. Kennedy
19. Sol Bloom
20. Vito Marcantonio
21. Joseph A. Gavagan
22. Walter A. Lynch
23. Charles A. Buckley
24. James M. Fitzpatrick
25. Ralph Abernethy Gamble
26. Hamilton Fish
27. Lewis K. Rockefeller
28. William Thomas Byrne
29. E. Harold Cluett
30. Frank Crowther
31. Clarence E. Kilburn
32. Francis D. Culkin
33. Fred J. Douglas
34. Edwin Arthur Hall
35. Clarence E. Hancock
36. John Taber
37. W. Sterling Cole
38. Joseph J. O'Brien
39. James W. Wadsworth
40. Walter Gresham Andrews
41. Alfred E. Beiter
42. John C. Butler
43. Daniel Alden Reed

NEW JERSEY

Senators:
William H. Smathers
W. Warren Barbour

Representatives:
Cong. District
1. Charles A. Wolverton
2. Elmer H. Wene
3. William H. Sutphin
4. D. Lane Powers
5. Charles Aubrey Eaton
6. Donald H. McLean
7. J. Parnell Thomas
8. Gordon Canfield
9. Frank C. Osmers, Jr.
10. Fred A. Hartley, Jr.
11. Albert Lincoln Vreeland
12. Robert Winthrop Kean
13. Mary Teresa Norton
14. Edward J. Hart

CONNECTICUT

Senators:
Francis T. Maloney
John A. Danaher

Representatives:
(At Large)
Lucien L. Maciora

Cong. District
1. Herman Kopplemann
2. William J. Fitzgerald
3. James A. Shanley
4. Leroy D. Downs
5. J. Joseph Smith

Wheeler Sees War Resisted

Says President Turns Back On Strife-Makers

Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana expressed the opinion this week that President Roosevelt would not lead the nation to war if the people were divided on this issue.

Speaking at a rally June 6 sponsored by the Pittsburgh chapter of the America First Committee and broadcast nationally, Mr. Wheeler said he "cannot believe and have never believed that President Roosevelt would deliberately lead this nation into the hell of war that is not ours."

President Resists

Although the President has led us to the brink of war, "today he is mightily and stubbornly resisting the war-mongers who would push us into the cauldron of hate and blood that is Europe, Africa and Asia," the Senator declared.

"He repudiated his Secretary of the Navy and his Secretary of War and he refused to follow Senator Guffey and Senator Pepper who were urging convoys —and I believe he will repudiate the war-mongers.

"Of course, he would like to see Hitler licked—he would like to see the Four Freedoms established—but he knows you can't win a war unless your people are united for war.

People Must Speak

"The American people must speak. They must let the President know that they expect him to stand by his pledges and that they expect him to continue his resistance to war."

Mr. Wheeler pointed out the tremendous cost that would be involved in further American intervention.

Estimating this cost at forty billion dollars yearly, he said:

"Five years—two hundred billion dollars. Then think of saddling such a debt upon unborn generations—or think of inflation, debt repudiation and all its consequences.

Means End Of Democracy

"It will mean the end of democracy. Our farmers will be sharecroppers and our workers will be slaves.

"Now the British ask us to go without butter and milk and eggs to help feed the hungry of England. But while they ask us to sacrifice to feed them they are willing to starve their former allies—France, Belgium, Greece and Poland.

"What more cruel, cold-blooded plea could be found in all history? Where is idealism there? We cannot reconcile bundling for Britain while American children die of malnutrition—a polite word for starvation."

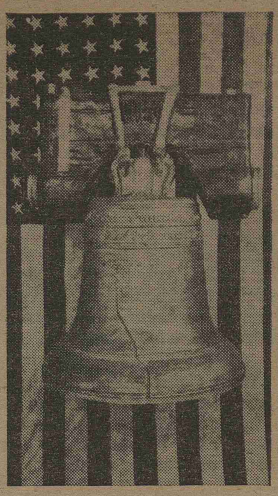
Interventionists Grow Impatient

(Continued from Page 1)

there is something to be said for the proposition that we cannot get aid to her in time and therefore the best assistance we can give England now is to get for her the best possible peace terms —saving her island home, her dominions, her navy and as much of her empire as possible.

Generally speaking, the atmosphere has changed in favor of peace. Of course, the most powerful force in this picture, was and still is the avalanche of mail which has poured in on the President and congress protesting against convoys and war.

America First Senators here strongly urge the continuance of this mail barrage. They feel we are at the most critical period.



Window display of the Women's Division, 3 East 47th St., New York City, which won second honorable mention in the nationwide Committee Chapter contest.

Women's Division Cited For Display

The Women's Division of the New York Chapter, at 3 East 47th Street, has been awarded second honorable mention in the $100 window display contest conducted among all chapters of the America First Committee.

First prize went to the Denver chapter with a display urging protests against convoys. The Oak Park (Ill.) chapter won first honorable mention for a large scale reproduction of a Chicago Tribune editorial cartoon by John T. McCutcheon.

The New York display consists of a facsimile of the Liberty Bell.

America First Pins On Sale At Chapters

America First pins, the emblem of the America First Committee, are being sold by local chapters and at the Women's Division, 3 East 47th St., New York City. Profits from the sale of pins are donated to the destitute children of America through an organized charity. Women's pins sell for $1.25 and men's lapel buttons sell for $1. When ordered by mail from the Women's Division, there is an additional charge of ten cents to cover postage.

Form New Chapters, Members Requested

An appeal to America First members to organize new chapters in their own neighborhoods was made this week by Richard H. Emerson, Director of Organization of the New York Chapter, 515 Madison Avenue.

"New chapters mean thousands of new members and thousands more letters to Washington," Mr. Emerson said. "Notify us that you want to organize and we'll discuss the local situation with you. We will gladly help by giving you the names of members and friends in your neighborhood whom you can invite to an organization meeting. When you have a committee of about ten active, responsible citizens, five should sign a charter application form. When this has been approved by the America First Committee, your group will be authorized to hold public meetings, conduct publicity campaigns, etc."

Further information may be obtained from Mr. Emerson.

Special To Run To Hartford Rally

Several hundred people are expected to board the America First Special at Grand Central Station on Wednesday, June 25, and escort Senators Wheeler and Danaher to the great outdoor Regional Southern New England Rally of the America First Committee at Bulkley Stadium, Hartford, that night.

First big outdoor America First meeting in the East, this rally will be an "all out" mobilization of the anti-war sentiment in the southern New England area. Special trains and busses will carry America Firsters and their friends to the meeting from points throughout the region.

Leaves Grand Central

A special train is being arranged for people living between New York and Hartford, with stops at Stamford, Bridgeport, and New Haven. It is planned to start the train at Grand Central Station, where Senators Wheeler and Danaher will board it. In order to make this possible, at least 200 people are needed to sign up for the excursion.

The round trip fare from New York will be $2.95. Those making the trip from New York will be given a free reserved seat ticket to the rally. Excursion tickets may be obtained through any America First headquarters in the New York area. The train will leave Grand Central Station at approximately 5 p.m. daylight time, returning to New York immediately after the rally.

Fares From Other Points

Round trip fares from other points are as follows: Stamford, $1.95; Bridgeport, $1.30; New Haven, $.75. In addition to the twenty-five cent reserved seats at the stadium, there will be free general admission, with ample seating facilities.

Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

Willkie ceases to believe in Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy, he will cease to support him. He will dis-unite. Very plainly Mr. Willkie asserts for himself the right to support the President's foreign policy when he believes in it and not to support it when he does not believe in it—to unite with the President when he agrees and to dis-unite when he disagrees. But apparently he does not extend this privilege to the rest of his fellow Americans for we are asked to unite behind the President's policy whether we agree or not.

How To Get Unity

Second, Mr. Willkie says unity can be obtained by all of the people who are opposed to war by dropping their principles and uniting with the interventionists. But there is another way to get unity. That is for the interventionists to drop their war-mongering and get together with the people opposed to war.

That would seem to be the most reasonable method, since the interventionists are in the minority and both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie solemnly promised the anti-war groups to support the opposition to war.

Lindbergh Urges New Leadership

(Continued from Page 1)

for this country which is non-interventionist and which places the interests of America first.

"This is, in fact, the primary objective of our committee. We believe that a non-intervention-ist and fundamentally American leadership is of vital necessity to the security and welfare of our country."

Arm Yourself.... To Campaign For Peace

Properly equipped with facts, you can play an important part in keeping the United States out of war.

The America First Bulletin gives you these facts every week.

It keeps you informed of all new developments in the struggle for peace.

Weekly articles explain why the country MUST stay out of war—why Hitler or any combination of power could NEVER invade us—how American mass-production methods will enable us to win in any trade war in the Western Hemisphere—and why our democracy would be lost and our economic system ruined if we fought a hundred-billion dollar war on foreign soil.

The America First BULLETIN tells what *you can do*—at little cost of time or money—to awaken the nation to the terrifying dangers we face if we enter the war.

SUBSCRIBE TODAY FOR YOURSELF

Subscribe For A Friend Or Neighbor

Fifty cents for three months — three months that may be the most important in our history. Keep yourself DEFENDED WITH FACTS in the critical three months that lie ahead.

Fill Out This Coupon And Mail It Now . . .

The A. F. C. BULLETIN
515 Madison Avenue
New York City

Please enter my subscription for the AMERICA FIRST BULLETIN for three months, for which I enclose Fifty cents.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....STATE .....

☐ I also enclose fifty cents for a subscription for a friend. Send the BULLETIN to

(Name) .....

(Address) .....

(City) .....(State) .....

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VOL. I JUNE 14, 1941 NO. 3

It's Happening Here Now!

"Sorry, but the government's running this now"

This is not a picture of one of the dictator countries.

It is a picture showing one of the things resembling Hitler that are happening right now in America.

A bill is now before Congress that has been presented by the War Department with the approval of the President of the United States. This bill would give the President the right to send his officers or troops into any factory, shop or property in America, take it over, without any time limits and for any price he fixes, and run it under government officers. This bill would affect ANY PLANT, regardless of whether there were labor troubles there or not. In Washington they call this the BRASS-KNUCKLE BILL.

This is not something that might happen after the war if we lose. It is something that might happen right now.

It is the way a war to bring democracy to Europe goes along in America. Our first step is to destroy democracy at home.

Creamless days, gasless Sundays, soaring prices, confiscatory taxes, crushing national debts — and now OWNERLESS FACTORIES AND SHOPS.

What will be the next step to imitate Hitler here?

Comment Reserved

Immediately following President Roosevelt's fireside chat on hemisphere defense, the President of Argentina reaffirmed the strict neutrality of his country.

The next day, the Nationalist Party of Uruguay adopted a resolution in favor of strict Uruguayan neutrality.

A Week's Quotes

FORMER GOVERNOR PHILIP L. LaFOLLETTE of Wisconsin: "The common people in the European democracies are the victims of their mushy-minded, spineless leadership. Their leaders lacked the brains to solve their own domestic problem of poverty in the midst of plenty. They lacked the courage to deal with their own little Hitlers, leading their innumerable pressure groups at home. They had no program to relieve the plight of the other distressed peoples of Europe.

"At long last they took their unprepared nations to a disastrous war rather than face facts at home or abroad. With Europe's awful tragedy staring us in the face, hadn't America better ask herself if we are not following step by step the same ruinous road?"

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT of Ohio: "The administration is lumping everything these days under the general heading of defense. We need a strong defense. We don't need—and the American people don't want—a collectivist system or pure socialism. American's don't want to go to war to beat a totalitarian system in Europe if they're going to get socialism here when it's all over."

COL. J. V. KUZNIK, U.S.A., retired: "The interventionists cannot point to one tangible reason for our entering the war. Nothing but fantastic suppositions and hypothetical situations are advanced to justify their bloodthirsty sympathies for Britain. We cannot point to one single case that under the war acts of international law would justify us in declaring war against the German people."

BOAKE CARTER: "Our diplomacy has never been noted for its realism. In the past eight years it has decayed into a grim game of one man's whimsies."

SENATOR ARTHUR VANDENBERG of Michigan: "No combination of enemies could cross our borders if we give even elementary attention to our defense and if we stop fifth columnists before they start.

"Our priceless freedom definitely would be blitzkrieged by our own entry into active shooting war, because war swiftly assigns every citizen to his anonymous cog in a vast, impersonal machine."

HUGH S. JOHNSON: "I do not believe any die has been cast on anything written on any 'American banner.' That forecloses debate of any further blundering steps down that pathway to destruction."

Keep yourself informed of all important developments on the peace front by subscribing for the America First Bulletin today. Subscription coupon on page three.

On The Peace Front

The Cook County council of the American Legion, representing 250 posts with a total membership of more than 45,000 veterans, voted this week for a referendum in Illinois to determine how voters in that state feel about American entry into the war.

"The constitution of the state of Illinois provides the machinery for determining public sentiment in an American way on any given question," the resolution stated. "Therefore, we favor the use of this machinery, known as the Public Policy Act, to give the people of this great state opportunity to express themselves upon the greatest issue that has ever faced them—the extent of American involvement in the European war."

West Coast college students are forming anti-war organizations under the name of "Campus Copperheads." Undergraduates at the University of Southern California have started the movement. Their constitution and by-laws consist of only three words: "We're for Lindy."

The Associated Press this week carried the following story from Topeka, Kansas:

"After viewing a parade of 1,500 mechanized troops, Topekans heard Brig. Gen. R. C. Riley, Fort Riley commandant, call it 'one of the most pitiful things I have ever seen.'

"Gen. Rodgers addressed a business men's dinner after the parade and said: 'Those trucks which paraded up your main street were as helpless as a fleet of vegetable trucks. Each of them should have had three machine guns, an anti-aircraft gun, sidearms and rifles, but there wasn't a gun in the lot.

"The reason is that we simply haven't got them."

All of which is further proof that the United States is NOT PREPARED to fight a war abroad.

A friend of the BULLETIN has passed on an excellent suggestion for America First Committee members, pointing out the fertile field that will exist in summer camps and vacation places to promote the cause of American peace.

Persons going to vacation resorts will make many new friends, whom they can enlist in the campaign against war. They can, by discussing the issues and by encouraging their new friends and acquaintances to help carry on the work, do a great deal to broaden the scope of this movement.

A majority of weekly and daily newspaper editors throughout the country are opposed to war, according to a survey by the Citizens War Poll, New York. Sixty-five percent of the editors were found to be against American intervention.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, in an interview in Washington this week, declared that despite President Roosevelt's accusations to the contrary, "the only statements that I have heard about peace negotiations have come from stories out of England, and stories printed by columnists close to the Administration."

Senator Nye has introduced a bill in Congress that would require all "public opinion polls" to keep records for two years of how many people they interview in each poll, and the interviewees' responses to the questions asked.

The June issue of "Reader's Digest" contains two articles of importance.

In a piece entitled "Do We Want A Mass Army?" Representative Ross A. Collins of Mississippi, outstanding military expert in Congress, points out that the German Army that conquered France's 5,000,000 soldiers consisted only of 150,000 men, operating with highly mechanized equipment. He asserts that more mechanization, even with less men than we now have under arms, will be necessary for our Army if it is to achieve sufficient power to fight a foreign force.

A condensation of Hugh Johnson's book, "Hell Bent for War," emphasizes the internal dangers ahead for the U.S. if it enters the war. Such a war, the article says, "will bankrupt our economy, destroy our democracy and possibly wreck what we now laughingly call 'Western Civilization'—no matter who wins."

Attend These Meetings—Hear These Broadcasts

THURSDAY, June 12. — Westchester County Rally, White Plains High School, White Plains, N. Y. Speakers: Senator Gerald P. Nye and Michael Strange. 8:30 p.m. BROADCAST, WFAS, WHITE PLAINS, 9:00 p.m.

FRIDAY, June 13. — Bronx Chapter Rally at Foerster Casino, 238th St. and White Plains Road, the Bronx. Edward Atwell and Dr. Charles Fleischer speak. 8:00 p.m.

FRIDAY, June 13.—Meeting of the 13th A. D. Kings County Republican Club, 442 Graham Avenue, Brooklyn. Charles Wrangel and William Phillips of the America First Committee speak. 8:00 p.m.

SUNDAY, June 15. — RADIO BROADCAST, "American Forum of the Air," WOR and the Mutual Broadcasting System. Michael Strange speaks for America First in debate. 8:00-8:45 p.m., EDST.

TUESDAY, June 17.—Stamford Chapter Rally. Lester Bonman will speak. Gregory Mason, chairman. 8:00 p.m. Further details from James L. Dashiel, secretary, 41 North St., Stamford.

WEDNESDAY, June 18.—Bronx Chapter Rally, Roosevelt High School.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 18.—RADIO BROADCAST, WMCA. John T. Flynn, chairman, New York Chapter. 9:15-9:30 p.m., EDST.

FRIDAY, June 20. — Paterson Chapter Rally. Jeanette Rankin speaks.

SATURDAY, June 21.—RADIO BROADCAST. Senator Gerald P. Nye speaks for America First over WABC and the full Columbia Broadcasting System network. 8:30-8:55 p.m. EDST.

3 EAST 47TH ST.

America First BULLETIN

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PEACE

A strange story comes out of Washington. Readers may remember that some days ago the representatives in Britain of all the conquered countries in Europe met and pledged themselves to fight on until complete victory is won. This means that victory will not be looked upon as having been won until Britain is saved and until France, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Greece and other smaller countries have been delivered from the German yoke.

However much all may wish devoutly for this, it is a tremendous order. It helps us to understand what the British mean by "victory." It means that somebody has got to provide an army of about six or seven million men, about 75,000 planes, hundreds of billions of dollars—that the continent of Europe must be re-invaded and Hitler's powerful armies driven back to Germany. That is what we are expected to do.

Wallace Suggested Idea

But here is the strange part of this story. The proposal for such a meeting apparently originated with Vice-President Wallace. Probably some one suggested it to him. He sent the idea to the President with his approval.

The President sent it with his blessing to Secretary Hull. The meeting was to be held here. We were thus to adopt this vast program as ours. But Hull turned it down. So it was sent to Churchill who convoked the meeting in London.

America's War Aims

If we want to know what America's war aims are—assuming we go to war, here is the answer: to join with Britain to flood the continent of Europe with American soldiers to crush the German armies there, and of course in Africa and the Japanese armies in China. There'll be plenty of blood-letting on that job—oceans of it.

Does this sort of war correspond with the requirements of those people in New York who want to go to war, "but send no men"; go to war, "but do no fighting"?

Women Of Queens Unit Sponsor Card Party

The Women's Division of the Elmhurst-Jackson Heights Unit held a card party Friday, June 13, to raise funds for Queens Headquarters. The party was attended by an overflow crowd.

Henry R. Christ, acting chairman of Queens Headquarters, addressed the gathering, literature was distributed, and numerous new members were signed up for America First. Mrs. Louise Just was chairlady.

The funds raised are to be used for an intensive publicity drive. It is planned to hold similar parties throughout Queens.

Queens Chapter Names Christ As Chairman

Henry R. Christ has been elected acting chairman of the Queens Chapter, to succeed John A. Dunstadter.

Mr. Dunstadter resigned last week because of the pressure of business.

McPhail Tries To Smear A. F. C.

War Group Chairman Rapped For Intolerance

Attempts of Larry McPhail, chairman of the Brooklyn chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, to insult the members of the America First Committee aroused waves of protests this week.

McPhail, who is also president of the Brooklyn Baseball Club, refused to rent Ebbets Field to the Brooklyn Chapter of the America First Committee for a rally. He then became profanely abusive to William T. Leonard, chairman of the chapter, who had phoned him to ask to rent the field.

Mr. Leonard said the committee would not urge a boycott of the ball club.

"This controversy with McPhail has nothing to do with baseball," he declared. "I telephoned McPhail to rent Ebbets Field. He refused and then turned loose upon me a torrent of profane abuse directed against our committee.

"Not satisfied with that, he wrote me a letter in which he said: 'The America First Committee—William T. Leonard, Col. Lindbergh, Senator Wheeler and Senator Nye — are associating with and co-operating with Father Coughlin, Joe McWilliams, Pelley, the German-American bund, Adolf Hitler and other contemptible organizations and individuals.' He added that we were 'treasonable propagandists.'"

"This is a sample of the intolerance which has led to the whole campaign of smearing those Americans who want to save America from a foreign war.

"The important point is that McPhail refused us the use of Ebbets Field because he doesn't agree with us. This is the sort of thing that makes Hitler what he is. New York was shocked when this was done to our committee in Miami. But here it is again—right in Brooklyn."

Sinking Of Robin Moor Fails To Give War Bloc An Incident

Committee Defeats Attempt To Kill Hartford Rally

Senator Danaher Rebukes Interventionist Group Seeking To Deny One Of 'Four Freedoms' Here

The America First Committee's great outdoor Southern New England Rally Against War scheduled for Hartford, Connecticut, on June 25 was the center of a lively front page controversy in that area last week. Meanwhile plans were completed for the America First Special Train which will provide an "escort of honor" for Senators John A. Danaher and Burton K. Wheeler from New York to the rally.

The controversy, from which America First emerged with the honors, resulted from an open letter to the Hartford America First Chapter written by Walter E. Batterson, Connecticut Chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.

Batterson tactitly urged that the rally be called off because it "would intentionally encourage disunity or give encouragement to those who are sowing the seed of discord." His letter proved a boomerang and brought down a series of rebukes on Batterson's head.

Labeling Batterson's charges as "fantastic," William T. Bissell, America First Chairman in Hartford, replied: "The Committee is trying to render a

(Continued on page 4)

Wheeler Hits Dakar 'Raid'

Says Interventionists Urge Attack On Port

Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana charged this week that "crazy interventionists" are trying to persuade President Roosevelt to "raid" French, Spanish and Portuguese islands in the Atlantic and the port of Dakar, in French West Africa.

In a press conference, Mr. Wheeler denounced these proposals as wrong, and he said the interventionists advocating them "ought to examine the equipment, or rather lack of it, of the Marines and the Army."

Nye Asks U.S. Post-War Aid

Urges We Serve World By Staying At Peace

America should play a peaceful role in the war, so that we can lend a helping hand to Europe when an armistice is signed, Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota said this week in an address before an America First rally sponsored by the White Plains and Scarsdale chapters.

In his speech, broadcast over a Mutual Broadcasting System network, Mr. Nye said: "It becomes more obvious daily to Americans that things are probably not as they have been made to seem by those who have been leading America down the path to involvement in Europe's war. The causes and purposes which these leaders enunciate more and more lend themselves to the charge of 'fraud.'

"America's place in this hour, when so many fraudulent causes are being dangled before our eyes, is to religiously stay out of that war, preserve our resources, maintain as large as possible a degree of solvency as is possible, to the end that, when the hour of exhaustion comes to Europe, we can be the anchor and the helping hand that the world is going so desperately to need if it is to be saved from worse than war."

Michael Strange also spoke at the rally.

Richmond Hill Unit Hears Atwell At Rally

With a capacity attendance of old, new and prospective America Firsters, the Richmond Hill Unit of Queens held its first Membership Rally on June 11 at the Richmond Hill Square Club. The principal speakers were Edward Atwell and Vincent Ferrari. Plans were approved to open a local unit headquarters.

Join the America First Committee

If you are an American citizen, opposed to Nazism, Fascism and Communism, you can help fight war by joining the America First Committee. Contribute to our work. Distribute our literature. Volunteer your services.

Offices of America First chapters in the metropolitan area are:

Manhattan

NEW YORK CHAPTER
Edwin S. Webster, Jr., Secy.,
515 Madison Ave.

WOMEN'S DIVISION
3 East 47th St.

LABOR AND VETERAN'S DIVISION
1050 Second Ave.

WALL ST. DIVISION
111 Broadway.

Brooklyn

44 Court St.

Bronx

1910 Arthur Ave.

Queens

75-12 Broadway,
Jackson Heights.

Long Island

CENTRAL LONG ISLAND CHAPTER
Mrs. Matthew Mason,
Medford.

FIVE TOWNS CHAPTER
Judge Edgar Treacy,
475 Oxford Road,
Cedarhurst.

FREEPORT CHAPTER
James A. Coveney.

NORTH SHORE CHAPTER
William S. Thomas,
Cove Road, Oyster Bay.

ROCKVILLE CENTER CHAPTER
55 Front St.

Westchester County

WESTCHESTER COUNTY CHAPTER
Allan Campbell,
99 Pondfield Road, Bronxville.

NEW ROCHELLE CHAPTER
William J. Baxter,
102 Elk Ave.

Staten Island

Mrs. Lila P. Jump,
130 Bay St., St. George.

New Jersey

STATE HEADQUARTERS
32 Commerce St., Newark.

BERGEN COUNTY HEADQUARTERS
378 Main St., Hackensack.

TRENTON CHAPTER
H. W. Beal,
47 Oak Lane.

RED BANK CHAPTER
Robert D. Williamson,
Shrewsbury.

They Show Dejection As All Are Recovered From Torpedoed Ship

The big events on the war-making front during the last week was the sinking of the Robin Moor and the closing of the German consulates. When news of the Robin Moor sinking reached America the war-makers here jumped for joy. This was the "incident" they were waiting and praying for.

Alsop and Kintner, two columnist allies of the government, said the President had been trying to goad the Germans into shooting. Friends of the President denied this and the America First Committee refused to credit it. But when the Robin Moor went down the war-group all yelled: "What are we waiting for?"

Churchill's Words Recalled

It was hailed as "another Lusitania" incident. In the last war Winston Churchill had said it was important "to get some American blood spilled in Europe" in order to arouse Americans to fight. And Ambassador Morganthau (father of the present secretary) told the private secretary of the King that American sentiment was boiling up fast and that soon he could look forward to "some American blood" being spilled.

The Robin Moor looked like "American blood spilled" this time. But there was great dejection in the war camp when it turned out that no American blood had been spilled.

It took two years after the Lusitania incident before America went to war before. The Robin Moor has therefore flivvered as a war incident. The war groups were so exasperated at the President's refusal to take the plunge that one of them—The Fight for Freedom crowd—took almost a full page ad to reach the President and headed it "What are we waiting for, Mr. President?"

The President is doubtless waiting to get some guns, some planes, some tanks and about 350 more warships—all of which will take several years. But as these war committees are made up largely of fighting parsons and warlike ladies—they are not interested in such minor details as guns and planes. They just want war.

Two Views on Consulates

The closing of the German consulates may be viewed in several ways. Some are inclined to think that its chief purpose is to add one more provocation to Germany to induce her to "shoot first." On the other hand if these consulates have been, as the President says, carrying on propaganda among Americans, there is no reason why they should not be closed.

The same treatment ought to be accorded to all diplomatic agents to this country who abuse their position here to carry on propaganda among our people.

It might be a good idea to put an end to the activities of the British embassy in Washington, which is spending millions on propaganda and recently openly appointed the minister, Sir Gerald Campbell, as head of its publicity department.

U.S. Would Be Forced To Fight In Europe, Asia

Japan Pledged To Attack If We War On Germany

Interventionists Lose Patience With President; Military Expert Cites Faults of Arms Program

The Dutch East Indies are far from here, but the troubles there with Japan have a deep concern for us. These rich islands—Sumatra, Java, Borneo—are from 7,000 to 9,000 miles from San Francisco. They have a population of about 63,000,000 orientals—some very highly civilized. These vast possessions are owned by little Holland and ruled without any trace of democracy. Japan has her eyes on them, on Indo China which belongs to France, and on Malay which belongs to Britain.

These three powers have conquered and exploited these countries and their millions just as Italy has exploited Ethiopia. Whether Holland or France or Britain or Japan owns these island has nothing to do with either democracy or civilization. It is certainly not something for which we should fight. But trouble is brewing there. And it concerns us because we seem to be getting ourselves tangled in a web of alliances by which we must send our sons and our ships 8,000 miles into the Pacific to defend England's, France's and Holland's colonial imperial loot in Asia.

But it has another meaning. Europe thinks we are getting ready to fight in Europe. Japan has a new pact with Germany to fight with her if we fight against her.

If we go to war against Germany, Japan will fight against us. What she will do is to attack the East Indies and perhaps theaten the Phillipines. We will not then dare send our fleet into the Atlantic to aid England. And we will not dare send it to Asia to check Japan there because we havn't got a two ocean fleet. This is what happens to countries when, like France, they bite off more than they can chew. We can defend ourselves. We cannot fight in Europe and Asia.

War Committees Lose Patience with President.

The Get-us-into-war committees flourish like the daisies. The Fight for Freedom, Inc., seems now to have taken the ball away from the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. It is a little hard to keep track of all the German Bunds and the British Bunds that are pulling to help either Germany or Britain—and to hell with America.

The Fight for Freedom Committee has just printed a large three-quarter page ad asking the President—"What Are We Waiting For?" These war makers are getting a little out of patience with the President.

Of course he might reply that he is waiting until he gets some guns, planes, tanks. Of course he can't fight a war with words. But this committee wants an immediate seizure of the Cape Verde Island and the Azores. The fact that one of these islands is off the coast of Europe and the other is off the coast of Africa and that both of them belong to Portugal mean nothing to the Anglican Bishop Hobson who heads this committee.

What rights has Portugal? Of course Portugal has told Secretary Hull that she will resist any such invasion by us with force. But there is another little point for the warlike Bishop. Spain and Germany are trying to push Portugal into the Axis orbit. The Fight for Freedom Committee has thought up a wonderful way to hurry Portugal into the arms of Germany.

God save England from her friends! And save America too from England's friends!

Congressman Collins Knows What "We Are Waiting For."

Are we really arming for defense? Are we arming at all? Congressman Ross A. Collins, in this month's Reader's Digest, says we are not. He is an active member of the Military Affairs Committee—the man who forced the army to build the Flying Fortress. He says that the army is stubbornly refusing to heed the lessons of Europe.

He points out that the army that conquered France was an army of only 145,000 men armed with a deadly mass of tanks, trucks, planes. They rolled over and crushed 2,000,000 Frenchmen and drove 350,000 British soldiers out of France. The balance of the German army was used just to occupy the conquered territory and round up the prisoners.

But we, he says, are building an old-fashioned mass army—infantry, cavalry, field artillery. We have 33 divisions and only one is fully motorized. We have only two panzer (mechanized) divisions, are training two and plan to create two more—six against Germany's 14. Moreover he says that today we do not have one division fit for combat. They are still teaching the boys to drill and ride—men who should know how to handle machinery.

But, of course, there is no machinery—and there will not be any for a long time. Yet the bloodthirsty preachers and women in the war committees want us to go to war at once. What are we waiting for? Ask Congressman Collins.

Alsop and Kintner Do Their Bit for War-Bund.

Two of the most virulent propagandists for getting this country into war were Messrs. Alsop and Kintner—columnists who have now gone into the navy as lieutenants. They are of draft age, but nicely escape the draft by becoming naval lieutenants.

However, they performed one last service for the war-bund before they left. They told the public that the President was scheming to get Germany to shoot first so he could start shooting (statement we do not believe) and they announced that an American destroyer had bombed a German destroyer—thus saying that we had actually begun to shoot.

And so, after having sworn these two young warriors into the navy, Secretary Knox was compelled to disown and deny this story and criticize newspaper men who printed such things. The story just wasn't true. Like much that is being printed to inflame people it was a pure invention of someone.

War-Makers Unmask Their Real Aims.

The propaganda of the war bund is now becoming plain. For over a year they said that America was aiding Britain not for Britain's sake, but for our own sake. We were defending ourselves. We were buying time. We needed time to arm. It was a case of pure selfishness.

The chief champion of this point of view was Secretary Knox. He told a Senate Committee only a few months ago that we were spending all this money to aid Britain "just to buy time" and for purely selfish purposes. Now he and the other war-bundists have brought us along so close to war that they have forgotten all about that.

This week Secretary Knox told an audience in Montreal that America is not arming and aiding England just to help ourselves. If we fight it will not be for pure selfishness. We can protect ourselves. We can get ready in time to resist an attack. If we fight, we are going to fight out of purely unselfish love of freedom.

Secretary Knox is no longer interested in "buying time" to enable us to arm. We are not armed yet for a war abroad. Everybody knows it—and he knows it. Yet, having spent billions to buy time, he is ready now to plunge in without taking the time we have paid for so dearly.

The truth is that all these arguments are trumped up arguments.

The real purpose behind the war-makers is to get us into the war as quickly as possible to save the British Empire.

New War Committee Talks About "Freedom."

Another war committee has been formed—The Ring of Freedom. They are always about "freedom" or "democracy." But actually they are always to get us into war.

This one was organized Tuesday night at the Town Hall by Miss Dorothy Thompson. The best evidence of what this new organization is can be seen in the people who sponsor it.

Miss Thompson is its mother. She is the lady who wants the United States and Britain to form one country—for America to team up as part of a vast American-British Empire, with America paying the bills and fighting the wars of Britain.

The chief speaker was Mr. Frank Kingdon. He is chairman of the New York Chapter of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies. Mr. Kingdon was born in England, and has been carrying on here valiantly for his mother country. He is New York's official chief war maker to "defend America."

The other speaker was Mr. John Basset, Jr., Canadian lieutenant of the Black Watch. He came to tell American youth "their duty"—to America, of course.

Here Are Your Representatives

These are your elected officials. Write to them today. Demand that they keep the country out of foreign wars.

NEW YORK STATE

Senators:
Robert F. Wagner
James M. Mead

Representatives:
(At Large)
Matthew J. Merritt
Caroline O'Day

Cong. District
1. Leonard W. Hall
2. William B. Barry
3. Joseph L. Pfeifer
4. Thomas H. Cullen
5. James H. Heffernan
6. Andrew L. Somers
7. John J. Delaney
8. Donald L. O'Toole
9. Eugene J. Keogh
10. Emanuel Celler
11. James A. O'Leary
12. Samuel Dickstein
13. Louis J. Capozzoli
14. M. Michael Edelstein
15. Michael Joseph Kennedy
16. William T. Pheiffer
17. Joseph Clark Baldwin
18. Martin J. Kennedy
19. Sol Bloom
20. Vito Marcantonio
21. Joseph A. Gavagan
22. Walter A. Lynch
23. Charles A. Buckley
24. James M. Fitzpatrick
25. Ralph Abernethy Gamble
26. Hamilton Fish
27. Lewis K. Rockefeller
28. William Thomas Byrne
29. E. Harold Cluett
30. Frank Crowther
31. Clarence E. Kilburn
32. Francis D. Culkin
33. Fred J. Douglas
34. Edwin Arthur Hall
35. Clarence E. Hancock
36. John Taber
37. W. Sterling Cole
38. Joseph J. O'Brien
39. James W. Wadsworth
40. Walter Gresham Andrews
41. Alfred E. Beiter
42. John C. Butler
43. Daniel Alden Reed

NEW JERSEY

Senators:
William H. Smathers
W. Warren Barbour

Representatives:
Cong. District
1. Charles A. Wolverton
2. Elmer H. Wene
3. William H. Sutphin
4. D. Lane Powers
5. Charles Aubrey Eaton
6. Donald H. McLean
7. J. Parnell Thomas
8. Gordon Canfield
9. Frank C. Osmers, Jr.
10. Fred A. Hartley, Jr.
11. Albert Lincoln Vreeland
12. Robert Winthrop Kean
13. Mary Teresa Norton
14. Edward J. Hart

CONNECTICUT

Senators:
Francis T. Maloney
John A. Danaher

Representatives:
(At Large)
Lucien L. Maciora

Cong. District
1. Herman Kopplemann
2. William J. Fitzgerald
3. James A. Shanley
4. Leroy D. Downs
5. J. Joseph Smith

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The extent of our activities depends entirely on the contributions of our members.

Your contribution enables us to conduct meetings, publish literature and interest new minds in our work.

If you possibly can, will you please contribute now to carry on this important work? Your contribution, however small, will enable us to reach and influence others—to broaden the scope of this movement so that we will be able to reach thousands of new members weekly.

Please send in a contribution today. Get others to contribute. With your help—and only with your help—America First can sweep the country.

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Can Hitler Invade America?

(Reprinted from the Reader's Digest of April, 1941.)

By JOHN T. FLYNN

Americans are told that the war in Europe is our war, because if Hitler defeats England the United States is next. He will invade America. And many people believe this so firmly that they are willing to go to any lengths to help Britain defeat Hitler. A great and vital question of the day is, therefore, CAN Hitler invade America?

Let us see what Hitler would require in order to do so.

First of all, remember that the countries he has so far conquered are much smaller, all put together, than the United States. Their total populations equal 110,000,000. Ours is 130,000,000. They are seven different countries, each small compared with Germany, each (except Norway) right on Germany's land frontiers. Hitler attacked each one separately. All he had to do was to roll across their borders with his vast mechanical equipment.

Germany has 80 million population, a gigantic army and an air force THREE times the size of Britain's. England has only 50 million people. But when Hitler turned on England there was the English Channel—only 23 miles wide at its narrowest point. Ten months after France fell, he still had not even attempted to cross that narrow strip of water with soldiers or tanks. When he attempts to invade the United States—or Canada—he would face the problem of crossing with his armies 3,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean and confronting not 50,000,000 people on a small island with small natural resources, but a vast nation with 130,000,000 people and resources far exceeding his own.

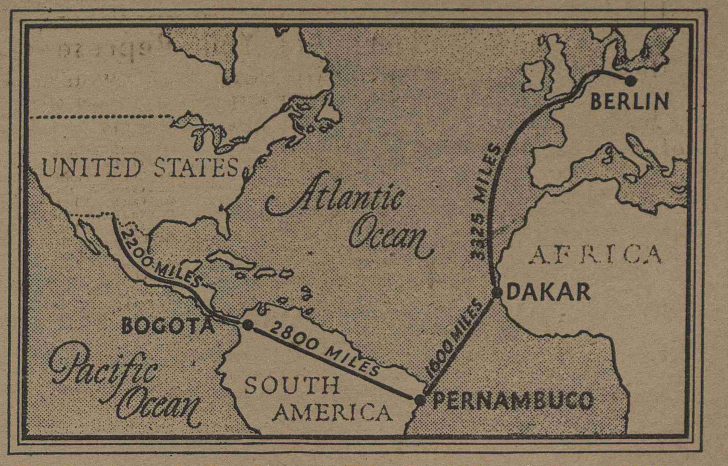
Germany Needs Millions Of Men

Just what would be the job that Hitler would have on his hands? His armies are mighty because they are equipped with an endless supply of tanks, armored trucks, machine guns and cannon and mortars, anti-aircraft guns and anti-tank guns and motorcycle squadrons and planes. If Hitler attempted to invade America he would have to bring not only his soldiers but all this equipment. Without it he would be helpless.

German army leaders have shown immense intelligence. They are not going to attempt to conquer us without bringing enough men here to do the job. How many men would that be? When Hitler went into Poland, just across his borders, he marched with 1,000,000 men. When he moved against Holland, Belgium and France he used not less than 2,000,000 men. Is it not a fair assumption that to defeat the United States here he would need at least as many men as he took into France? Could Hitler conquer this country with less than three or four million men?

But let us suppose that Hitler might be crazy enough to try to beat the United States with 1,000,000 men. How much equipment would he have to bring along? Figures based on the equipment carried by American army units show a staggering amount of equipment necessary for such a force, though they are very much under what the Germans carry. But, on the American system, Hitler's million invaders would have to bring with them, among other things, over 44,000 guns of various types; over 100,000 vehicles, including 4,500 tanks; and nearly 10,000 planes.

Such an army would have to bring its food, its oil, its ammunition until the country is conquered. It would require, each day, 9,000,000 pounds of rations and supplies, 1,500,000 gallons of gasoline, 150,000 gallons of oil. The quantities of shot and shell needed would be staggering. After Hitler's army got here, it would have to keep open a continuous flow of provisions, fuel, ammunition and replacements of arms and equipment. Transporting this vast army, and the equipment and supplies it would require, is beyond the power of any country.



This Map Shows the Vast Distances Hitler Would Have to Travel With Tremendous Numbers of Men, Food, Oil and All Kinds of Equipment If He Ever Tried to Invade America

Initial Force Of 50,000 Most That Can Be Sent

Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, says: "The world's tonnage facilities are such that no combination of powers could possibly transport more than 300,000 men in a month. An initial expeditionary force of 50,000 would be the maximum that could be brought against us, if the size of convoy, number of ships and planes needed for protection and the like are considered."

In the World War we sent 2,000,000 men to France. But we had the ships of twelve countries and the American, British and French navies. The Germans were without a fleet. We landed these men on a friendly shore and sent engineers and mechanics ahead of them to build ports and docks to unload the equipment.

Let us suppose that Germany has defeated England and taken the British navy. She now decides to send her army to America.

U. S. Navy Would Be More Formidable

Germany, even with the British fleet, would not have complete command of the seas. The American navy would have to be wiped out. Two things must be remembered. First, at the end of this war the American navy would be larger than the German navy and the British navy combined. Second, Germany would have to do its naval fighting on this side of the ocean. Three thousand miles away from their own coasts this navy would be helpless against a navy merely its equal in numbers but three times its strength in effective fighting power.

Much is made of the point that our fleet would be divided or wholly engaged in the Pacific, or that it could be closed out of the Atlantic by bombing the Panama Canal. This is a decisive argument for keeping out of England's quarrel in the Orient and keeping the bulk of our fleet where it might be really needed. The weight of naval opinion is that Japan would never dream of carrying a war to these shores. Her interests are in the East.

If 30 or 40 Nazi ships with 50,000 men, convoyed by warships, attempted to land here, they would not sneak in on some dark night. Plane scouts would herald their approach days in advance. They could not empty their cargo on an open beach, but must first obtain possession of a secure harbor.

Warships convoying troop transports would be open to almost certain disaster from shore artillery, always considered superior to seaborne guns. When these coastal defenses are reinforced by shore-based air forces no military commander would attempt landing. The inability of the British to land in Norway once Germany had gotten there first and the deadly power of massed airplanes against British convoying warships in the Mediterranean leave little doubt on this question. It was this which led General Hagood to say in 1937: "America is the strongest military nation on earth —that is, the easiest nation to prepare for defense." And in 1938 Rear Admiral Cook told a congressional committee: "I do not think that any fleet could make an effective landing on our coast, whether we had a navy or not, provided enough shore-based aircraft are available."

Even the planes used by this invading force must be transported to this country by ships. They cannot come as hostile craft and find a friendly landing here.

Invading Armada At Our Mercy

For every man transported there must be at least seven and a half tons of shipping. An attacking force of 100,000 thus would require 750,000 tons. Averaging 5,000 tons, this would require 150 vessels, convoyed by a flotilla of seven battleships, several aircraft carriers, seven light cruisers, a couple of minelayers and at least 70 destroyers. Imagine this immense armada, moving slowly over the seas 3,000 miles from its own base and at the mercy of our navy and air force, and compelled to land at a port protected by heavy guns and mine-sown seas. The idea is fantastic.

To come here after defeating England, Hitler would have to set out upon a vast military adventure, using up all the resources he has. And he would leave behind him on his rear Russia, which would welcome his plight, and 200,000,000 sullen people in Europe who would be watching the moment to cause him trouble. That moment would come when he was compelled to strip himself in Europe to fight here. Dictators don't take such chances.

President Admitted Invasion Is Impossible

The President said in his Message to Congress on January 6, 1941: "Even if there were no British navy it is not probable any enemy would be stupid enough to attack us by landing troops in the United States from across thousands of miles of ocean, until it had acquired strategic bases from which to operate." Here is a complete admission that invasion is impossible, from the lips of a man who has done more than any other to frighten us with the fear of invasion.

The President saves his point by insisting that Hitler would first have to acquire bases in this hemisphere. Those bases would have to be much closer to the United States than is Germany, otherwise there would be no sense in bases. Brazil is the South American base to which the President is found of referring. This is because Hitler could take over West Africa and concentrate his forces at Dakar, which is only 1,600 miles from Pernambuco in Brazil. Hitler will be able to cross over the Atlantic at this narrow stretch to Brazil and, as Senator Claude Pepper has described it, roll on through Venezuela, Colombia, Central America and Mexico to the Rio Grande.

This proposal is so grotesque that it hardly calls for an answer. Before he started from Germany he would be 3,300 miles from the United States. After traveling 5,000 miles to Brazil he would be farther away from the United States than when he started. And he would have to march a million men with all their supplies through tropical jungles and over rugged mountains!

Experts Discount Greenland Threat

Others tell us he will go to Greenland, but military and aviation experts know it is impossible to build bases there to accommodate either naval or airplane units large enough for attack here. Even if it were possible, Hitler could not do this unless he had command of the seas. And if he had command of the seas he wouldn't go to Greenland.

There are, however, other bases from which attacks might be launched: Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies, or any British or Dutch or French possessions in the neighborhood of the northern coast of South America. But American warships could almost the very day that England fell take possession of these places without firing a shot, spending a dollar, or losing a man.

As for Newfoundland, there we would pursue the policy we would adopt for all of Canada. We would announce that we would resist with force any attack upon that country. The same arguments which reveal the impossibility of a frontal attack on the United States apply to Canada backed by the United States.

Conquest by fifth-column penetration is suggested. Secret agents can certainly AID an invader, but they could not be of decisive aid in a country as large as ours nor effect POSSESSION of any country in this hemisphere. Some go so far as to say Hitler could take over Brazil by telephone. I have been able to find no military authority who believes that Germany could seize a country on this continent except by military conquest and occupation.

Air Fleet Non-Existent That Could Conquer Us

But how about aerial conquest? Well, there is not in existence any fleet of planes that could menace us from Europe or from any base such as Greenland or the Azores. Some bombers could get over and drop a few bombs. But everyone knows by now that you do not conquer a country merely by dropping bombs on it. It must be occupied.

Americans are willing to aid Britain because they hate fascism, they are against Hitler, they look upon the English government, despite its aristocratic character, and its empire, as more civilized than Hitler's dictatorship. They are willing to help through a generous sympathy. But they should disabuse themselves of the panicky illusion that they must help Britain because a victorious Hitler would conquer America next.

We must provide this country with defenses that will make an invasion by any force, however great, impossible. But few Americans want to create a force capable of invading Europe or Asia and carrying on an aggressive war there. AND IT IS A SIGNIFICANT FACT THAT THERE IS NO MILITARY AUTHORITY IN THIS COUNTRY WHO BELIEVES THAT AN INVASION OF AMERICA BY GERMANY—WITH OR WITHOUT THE BRITISH FLEET—IS POSSIBLE.

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You Can Stop The War-Makers

The issue of war or peace is rapidly nearing a crisis. The next few weeks may be decisive. They may determine whether we maintain our traditional American way of life or whether we jump tragically unprepared into a foreign war—a war more prolonged, more horrible than any the nation has ever faced.

The war-makers think they have already made your decision for you. Actually they have not. The decision is still yours to make. You can passively submit to the hysterical, high-pressure propaganda of the war-makers and permit yourself to be drawn into this war. Or you can, with your own power and that of 80 per cent of the people like you, stop dead in its tracks the march toward war.

When the war-makers talk about going to war, they do not mean themselves or people in some remote place whose welfare does not concern you. They mean you—you who will have to do the sweating and the suffering, the fighting and the dying.

They mean you—or your son, your brother or your dearest friend—who will be taken off to some distant, disease-infested place to hate and to kill, to have your eyes blown from the sockets, your legs torn from beneath you, your heart stopped dead in a prayer as you plead to God for life.

They mean you men and women who will have to stay at home while the war rages abroad, who will have to pay the money costs—the taxes that take half your earnings, that double and triple the price of your children's milk, that force you to accept a thousand hardships of "meatless days," "sugarless days," "gasless days" and in return give you, in pine boxes, the ghastly pieces that remain of your loved ones.

The war-makers mean you who will have to accept an American form of Hitlerism, with your freedom of speech supplanted by the concentration camp, your freedom of work supervised by an American Gestapo, your freedom of race over-ridden by government agents searching your homes and seizing your properties "because you have a foreign name."

When the war-makers talk of war, they neglect to remind you of what will happen after the war. They forget about the long, wearisome breadlines—the starving women and children prowling the streets for a few crumbs of food to eat—the despair and hopelessness of millions of men thrown from their jobs because war industries no longer need them. They neglect to tell you that you may be out of a job for years and that your government will be unable to feed you and your wife and children because the government will already have debts of more than a hundred billion of dollars. They neglect to say that the dictatorship necessary to carry on the war will also be necessary to keep this post-war chaos from spreading. Such things are inevitable in bankrupt nations.

The war-makers neglect all these things in their frenzy to drive you into a war you do not want. They neglect to tell you that you—and your children and your children's children—will have to pay in misery and poverty and possibly slavery for the war they are now urging upon you.

Long after you are dead and your corpse has been food for European or Asiatic worms, or your democratic way of life has perished and your "war prosperity" has turned sourly into the most agonizing want, the war-makers will still be around to prate about the glories of war.

They will be around to declare that you, as one of the people, do not matter; that they, with their powerful press and radio, their high-priced propaganda and their words of smear, are the only ones who count.

If they succeed in destroying democracy now—in taking from you your God-given right to exercise your voice in government—they will keep you in chains for generations.

You can stop them. You can stop them so firmly and strongly now that they will not dare lead you into this suicidal war you do not want.

Stop them today. Tell them—through letters and telegrams to the President, your Senators and Congressman—that you want democracy here, that you want the majority of Americans to count, that you want your American way of life to survive.

Tell them you want no foreign war, no wholesale slaughter of a million American men, no post-war chaos for America.

Tell them today, for it may soon be too late to stop the war-makers, too late to save America.

A Week's Quotes

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD: "The heat and bitterness shown by the pro-war people and notably members of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies and their apparent determination to deprive those on the other side of the right to free speech and public debate are pretty good evidence that there is something very wrong with their cause."

ALFRED M. LANDON: "To send men into the field and unaccustomed to their equipment is sheer murder. I, for one, want to know how much training our men are receiving with the equipment they will use in actual combat, if engaged in combat."

NEW YORK JOURNAL AND AMERICAN: "Our people may be TRICKED into the war.

"They may even be THRUST into the war.

"But assuredly they are NOT being beguiled into the war by all the hectic war propaganda with which they are assailed.

"And if the American people want to avoid being TRICKED or THRUST into the war they must MAKE THEIR WILL PREVAIL—at Washington, with their elected officials and representatives in the Government."

REPRESENTATIVE STEPHEN A. DAY OF ILLINOIS: "The tide is turning in Washington. The Congress is determined to drive the serpent of internationalism from the free soil of America."

SENATOR JOHN A. DANAHER: "If, after the situation has been thoroughly canvassed, it shall appear that American national interests demand our entry into war, and Congress speaking for the people shall so declare, you will see a unified American people to support our national effort. Until that dreadful moment comes, and God forbid that it ever shall, American citizens have a perfect right, in fact it is their duty, to ascertain the facts and not be coerced or beguiled by . . . propaganda efforts to take us into war."

Chapters Welcome Voluntary Workers

If you are a member of the America First Committee you can help the cause of peace greatly by contributing your services in your spare time. If you can type or do secretarial work, filing, or mailing, your services will be welcome at any A.F.C. chapter.

Offices of most chapters are open daily until 10 P.M. and much work is done in the evening by volunteers with regular day-time jobs. If you wish to offer your services, call at any chapter or at the headquarters of the New York Chapter, 515 Madison Avenue.

On The Peace Front

The New York Daily News points out this interesting "study in contrast":

May 29—Secretary of the Interior Ickes proposed "gasoline-less Sundays" on the eastern seaboard.

May 30—Lord Woolton, British food minister, suggested "creamless days" in the United States.

June 6—Secretary of Agriculture Wickard urged Americans to "reduce the consumption of cheese."

June 8—Canadian Government Travel Bureau advertised in the New York Times: "It is easy to enter and leave Canada . . . There is absolutely no rationing of food or gasoline."

One thousand Protestant ministers from all parts of the United States have signed a resolution opposing this country's "threatened belligerency" and promising they will not use their ministry to promote war. The resolution, announced by the Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, declared:

"As a Christian, I see no possibility of reconciliation between the central teachings of Jesus and the necessary operations of war; as a loyal citizen, devoted to the cause of liberty and democracy, I am unalterably opposed to the present threatened belligerency of this country. Both as a citizen and a Christian, therefore, I must in loyalty to conscience affirm my pledge not to use my ministry to bless, sanction or support war."

The direct question of war or peace this week was laid before the enrolled voters of the 26th New York Congressional District by Representative Hamilton Fish, ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Every enrolled voter in the district, which comprises Orange, Dutchess and Putnam counties, is receiving a letter from Representative Fish with a return postcard ballot which puts the question:

The United States should—Enter the War—Stay Out of the War.

"In such critical times it appears to me that the people's representatives in Congress should take stock of the sentiment of their constituents to the end that they may truly and honestly represent them," Mr. Fish said.

The Labor-Veterans division, at 1050 Second Avenue, is enlisting hundreds of new members for the America First cause from the ranks of unions and veterans' groups. This division, of which Edward Atwell is director, urges working men to visit its offices and join in the cause of peace.

Committee Defeats Attempt To Kill Hartford Rally

(Continued from page 1)

public service by making vocal the opinions of loyal citizens and loyal senators on the vital issues before the country."

Commenting editorially the Hartford Courant, one of New England's leading newspapers, said: "Why should its [The Committee to Defend America, etc.] principal spokesman say that it makes for 'disunity' to have those who want to keep this nation out of a shooting war raise their voices. Everybody knows that there is not unity with respect to the issues raised by the European conflict and the attitude of the United States toward that conflict. But the nearest approach for unity that we have is the desire of an overwhelming majority of the American people to keep out of war."

Mr. Batterson also publicly attacked Senator John A. Danaher for his acceptance of the Committee's invitation to speak with Senator Wheeler at the rally.

In a public reply to Mr. Batterson which received nation-wide attention in the press, Senator Danaher wrote in part, "I am a member of no committee and sponsor no movement but when circumstances permit and when called upon by honest forthright Americans to say something in behalf of the American cause, I am glad to cooperate and am taking the liberty of inviting you to be present at Bulkeley Stadium in Hartford on the evening of June 25 when, at 8:00 o'clock, I expect to be in Hartford with Senator Wheeler to tell our citizens something of what the issues really are."

Keep yourself informed of all important developments on the peace front by subscribing for the America First Bulletin today. Subscription coupon on page two.

Attend These Rallies—Hear These Broadcasts

THURSDAY, June 19—Poughkeepsie, N. Y., rally at Poughkeepsie High School. Speakers: Senator David I. Walsh, Rep. Hamilton Fish, Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark. 8 p.m.

FRIDAY, June 20—Paterson, N. J., Chapter rally. Jeanette Rankin speaks.

SATURDAY, June 21—RADIO BROADCAST. Senator Gerald P. Nye speaks for America First over WABC and the full Columbia Broadcasting System network. 8:30-8:55 p.m., EDST.

SATURDAY, June 21—RADIO BROADCAST from Dubuque. NBC Blue network, 11-11:30 p.m., EDST. Senator Wheeler speaks. Subject: "Peace or War."

SUNDAY, June 22—RADIO BROADCAST from CHICAGO. WGN and the Mutual Broadcasting System, 10:15-10:30 p.m., EDST. Senator Wheeler speaks.

MONDAY, June 23—Queens Village Unit rally, P.S. 109, 213th St. and 92d Ave., Queens Village, L. I. Speakers: Dr. Charles Fleischer, Charles Wrangell. 8 p.m.

TUESDAY, June 24.—Brooklyn Chapter rally, Knight of Columbus clubhouse, 1 Prospect Park West. Senator Bennett Champ Clark will speak. 8:30 P.M.

WEDNESDAY, June 25—RADIO BROADCAST from Washington. WJSV and the Columbia Broadcasting System, 10:15-10:30 p.m., EDST. Senator Taft speaks.

WEDNESDAY, June 25—Great outdoor Regional Southern New England rally. Bulkely Stadium, Hartford, Conn. Speakers: Senators Wheeler and Danahar. Special train leaves Grand Central Station at 5:10 p.m.; stops at Stamford, Bridgeport, New Haven. Round trip fare, including reserved seat at rally, $2.95 from New York. BROADCAST: WTIC, Hartford, 8:30-9 p.m. and 9:30-10 p.m.

FRIDAY, July 1—Yonkers rally. John T. Flynn and Rep. Hamilton Fish will speak.

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PEACE

We observed some weeks ago that America had to have its weekly crisis. The last one was the call for extending the draft and for an American A.E.F. This week's "crisis" is the Japanese entry into Indo China and the series of events which the President touched off succeeding that.

Indo China is an oriental country at the Southeastern tip of China. It has a population of some 23,000,000 people of various Asiatic strains. It has a civilization about on a par with the Chinese. It was subjugated many years ago by the French, precisely as Mussolini subjugated Ethiopia and England subjugated India. In that time the French have exploited it for purely French interests. The French occupation has been an example of stern, selfish imperialism operated with as little concern as possible for the inhabitants of the country.

Japan's Imperialism

Now Japan assumes the right to be as imperialist as France or England or, for that matter, America, which holds the Phillipine Islands after driving out the Spaniards and subjugating the population.

It is difficult to see how the occupation of Indo China by the French can be defended on any grounds even remotely connected with democracy. It is equally impossible to find any defense for a Japanese occupation of them with or without French permission. The whole episode is just another chapter in the long rivalries of imperialist powers which do not believe in democracy for other peoples.

Where Does U. S. Come In?

One asks oneself — what has America to do with all this? And is there any reason in God's world why America should spill a drop of blood to keep the Japs out of Indo China or any other Asiatic country? We may de-

(Continued on page 2)

AFC Hits Welles On Indo China

Says U.S. Interferes In Solely Foreign Issue

In a telegram sent this week to Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles, the Executive Committee of the New York Chapter of the America First Committee described his attempt to interfere in the Japanese-French Indo China dispute as a proposition which "is obviously one of international anarchy."

The telegram was signed by the full membership of the Executive Committee—John T. Flynn, author-economist; Mrs. John P. Marquard; Amos R. E. Pinchot, lawyer and publicist; H. Dudley Swim and Edwin S. Webster, Jr.

Text of Telegram

The text of the telegram was as follows:

"In behalf of 100,000 members of the New York Chapter of the America First Committee the undersigned respectfully protest against the stand you took Thursday, in regard to Japanese and French interests in the Far East for by that stand you in effect lay down the new and dangerous doctrine that if a foreign power (in this instance Japan) acquires bases of another foreign power (in this instance France) this may be construed as an attack on our country and treated accordingly. It is clear that this monstrous doctrine is equally repellent to common sense, international law, and the interests of American security and defense.

Japan's Rights Cited

"Moreover, if we claim the right to intervene to prevent Japanese acquisition of bases in Indo-China, Japan has an equal right to intervene to prevent our acquisition of bases in Brazil. Your proposition is obviously one of international anarchy.

"America First stands for an impregnable defense of this country. However, we do not believe that inviting a war that must be waged with lines of com-

(Continued on page 2)

Senate Exposes Stimson Smear As War Makers Get Desperate

Congress Rejects Proposal For 'National Emergency'

Victory For Anti-War Forces Assured As Ban Against Selectee A.E.F. Stands In Draft Bill

As the fight over the draft extension bill developed in Congress this week, it became plainly evident that the American people have once again laid a firm, restraining hand on the war-makers.

A victory for the anti-war forces was assured on two vital issues. As the Senate measure went out of committee and onto the floor, the war features of the bill were completely absent. Despite the President's call for a declaration of "national emergency" by Congress, the measure approved by the Senate Military Affairs Committee does not contain that statement, and interventionist Senators admitted that they would not try to get it. It was evident that Congress—spurred to action by a determined public opinion—would not make that declaration, because of the danger that it might be all the excuse needed by the war bloc to precipitate further steps toward war.

The second victory was won when the interventionists were forced to drop their demands for lifting of the restrictions against use of a draftee A.E.F. This restriction was included in the original Selective Service Act passed last year, and while General George Marshall, Army Chief-of-Staff, and Administration leaders sought to have it lifted, they were finally forced to bow to public opinion again.

At the BULLETIN'S press time, the House Military Affairs Committee was also working on a measure which, it was believed, would carry essentially the same features as the bill approved by the Senate Committee.

The American people are assured, therefore, that the bill that is ultimately passed will contain none of the dangerous

(Continued on page 2)

War Secretary Makes Apology After Wheeler Assails 'Treason' Charge

Administration attempts to smear Senator Wheeler because of his opposition to war policies were sensationally exposed this week.

On the Senate floor, in a demonstration rarely equalled in modern times, Senator after Senator voiced complete loyalty in Senator Wheeler's courage and integrity, denouncing the latest Administration effort, led by Secretary of War Stimson and encouraged by

The text of Senator Wheeler's address on the Stimson charges appears on page three.

President Roosevelt, to smear him as a "near traitor" and guilty of "near subversive activities."

Thirteen Senators took the floor, among them several supporters of the President's foreign policies. But not one spoke a word to justify Stimson. When the session was over, the Stimson-Roosevelt campaign was bared as an empty, unfounded attempt to discredit Mr. Wheeler simply because of his opposition to the war.

As a result, Stimson made a public apology to Senator Wheeler, admitting his charge was without foundation.

Carefully Planned Conference

The Stimson smear got under way when the 83-year-old Secretary of War called a carefully arranged press conference to allege that Mr. Wheeler was "very near the line of subversive activities in the United States" because of a million postcards mailed to voters asking them to voice opposition to war, three of these cards were delivered to soldiers. One of these was ad-

(Continued on page 2)

Urges Congress To Heed People

Archbishop Beckman Says War Is Economic

CHICAGO.—The Most Reverend Francis L. Beckman, Archbishop of Dubuque, warned Congress this week to listen to and heed the majority of the American people who are unalterably opposed to intervention in a foreign war.

Archbishop Beckman, speaking over a nation-wide hookup of the Columbia Broadcasting System, said the people for too long have been "led around by the nose, told what to do, robbed, kicked and abused by the high and mighty masters of international finance."

People Will Never Forget

"They will never forgive, much less forget, a negligence by Congress which permits the stealthy maneuvering of this beloved America into war either by the front or back door," he declared.

The war now raging is essentially an economic war based on greed, a "vast struggle for power and possessions between two diametrically opposed systems of finance," the Archbishop continued.

"The present conflict is not a 'holy war,' at least of all a just war; but a war of one imperialism against another, in which godlessness is incidental to all belligerents. Neither side is interested in God so much as in gold or its equivalent.

War Will Crush Spirit

"A long and horrible war," he said, "will crush and distort the human spirit, deprave and bestialize it. And the spirit of whole peoples shattered by interminable warfare will prove fertile soil for the cockle of neo-Communism."

Tobey Seeks Freedom Here

Tells Mineola Rally U.S. Democracy Suffers

Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire asserted this week that the best chance of establishing the "four freedoms" in the world lies not in American involvement in the European war, but in "making them true here in America, where they are not today."

Speaking before a huge rally sponsored by the Long Island Chapters at Mineola, Senator

(Continued on page 2)

Join the America First Committee

If you are an American citizen, opposed to Nazism, Fascism and Communism, you can help fight war by joining the America First Committee. Contribute to our work. Distribute our literature. Volunteer your services.

Offices of America First chapters in the metropolitan area are:

EASTERN DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
New York Office 515 Madison Avenue. (PL. 3-5425).

NEW YORK CHAPTER—Edwin S. Webster, Jr., Secretary, 515 Madison Avenue. (PL. 3-5425).

BRANCHES—3 East 47th Street, (Also Women's Division HQ). 111 Broadway—1050 Second Avenue, (Also Labor, Veterans HQ).

BROOKLYN—44 Court Street. William T. Leonard, Chairman. (TR. 5-2952).

BRONX—1910 Arthur Avenue, Vincent a Gaquinto, Chairman. (TR. 8-6050).

QUEENS—75-12 Broadway, Jackson Heights, Dr. Herbert A. Donovan, Acting Chairman. (HA. 4-3558).

LONG ISLAND

Central Long Island Chapter—Mrs. Matthew Mason, Chairman, Medford. (Patchogue 2281-J2)

Five Towns Chapter—Judge Edgar Treacy, Chairman, 475 Oxford Road, Cedarhurst.

Freeport Chapter—James Coveney, Chairman, 211 South Ocean Avenue.

Hicksville Chapter—Madeline C. Lanzer, Secretary, Burns Avenue. (679).

North Shore Chapter—William S. Thomas, Chairman, Cove Road, Oyster Bay. (1755-M).

Rockville Center Chapter—55 Front Street, Mrs. Mary M. Theobald, Chairman. (191-W).

WESTCHESTER COUNTY

Mt. Vernon Chapter—Philip R. Carney, Acting Chairman, 1470 Midland Avenue.

Westchester County Chapter—Allan Campbell, Chairman, 99 Pondfield Road, Bronxville.

New Rochelle Chapter—William J. Baxter, Chairman, 248 Hugenot St.

Yonkers Chapter—George Knuttgen, Acting Chairman, 70 North B'way.

STATEN ISLAND—1 Slossen Terrace, St. George. Mrs. Lila I. Jump, Sec'y.

NEW JERSEY

State Headquarters—32 Commerce Street, Newark. Mrs. Mary Heninger, Secretary.

Bergen County Headquarters—378 Main Street, Hackensack. Mrs. E. D. Newby, Chairman.

Trenton Chapter—37 North Willow Street. John A. McGrath, Chairman.

Hudson County Chapter—340 Palisade Ave., Jersey City, N. J. Raymond Hanfield, Chairman (JO 2-1937).

Passaic Valley Chapter—Florence Purdy, Sec'y, 140 Oak Street, Paterson.

Red Bank Chapter—Chester Adv, Chairman, 12 Garden Road. (2837).

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Congress Bans Draftee AEF

People's Victory Seen In Extension Fight

(Continued from page 1)

features that were first proposed. The discussion in the House and Senate in all probability will center solely on the question of lengthening the service of the selectees.

The most the interventionists can hope for is a time-extension. And the possibility strongly exists that on this point they will have to make further compromises.

Taft Makes Proposal

Slated for discussion in the Senate was a proposal by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, to extend the service for four months, so that the first draftees would be mustered out in February at the rate of 75,000 a month and replaced by new soldiers at the same rate. Senator Taft indicated this week that he was prepared to make a strong fight for this proposal.

Senator Burton K. Wheeler urged a system to encourage volunteer enlistments to build army strength. He suggested that enlisted men be paid $100. a month, instead of the $30 they now receive. Under his plan, $70 would be saved for the soldiers each month until they are discharged.

Fight Expected In House

In the House, there was evidence that a vigorous fight would be put up against the time-extention, and the odds were that some compromise, strongly favoring the noninterventionists, will be enacted.

• It was obvious, therefore, even before discussion on these measures began on the floors of Congress, that the war-makers had received a set-back. They will get no "declaration of national emergency," and they will get no authority to send the draftees outside the Western Hemisphere.

That they will come back later to ask for those two things seems probable; but the reassertion of Congress and the people in their Constitutional rights—as exemplified on this issue—makes its equally probable that if they come back for them again, again they will be defeated.

AFC Hits Welles On Indo China

(Continued from page 1)

munication 7,000 miles long is a proper measure of defense.

"The proposition to which you are seeking to commit the American people seems to be founded (a) in the desire of the Administration to create the impression that the United States is being attacked and (b) to get this country into a foreign war which the people do not want, which the President has pledged himself to avoid, and for which our military establishment is sadly unprepared."

Astoria Unit Holds First Regular Meeting

Edward Atwell was scheduled to address the first regular meeting of the Astoria unit, Queens chapter, this week at the Queens Headquarters, 75-12 Broadway, Jackson Heights. Miss Muriel Smith is chairlady of the Astoria unit, which was formed three weeks ago.

400 At Corona Hear Murray, McGeough

More than 400 persons jammed the Knights of Columbus Hall, Corona, last week for a rally of the Corona Unit that heard the Rev. William Murray, Bryan J. McGeough and Edward Atwell. Vita Giaccio, past commander of the American Legion, Corona Post, and past chairman of the Americanization Committee of the Queens County American Legion, was chairman. Mrs. Rose DeLucca is chairlady of the unit.

Day-Time Volunteers Urged To Aid AFC Work

Typists and stenographers who can volunteer their services during the day are urgently needed in the various New York City offices of the Committee. Anyone who can give even a few hour's time will make a real contribution to our work. Register at any office—but particularly at the Volunteer Desk at the headquarters office, Room 1106, 515 Madison Ave.

For the latest news on the peace front, read the BULLETIN every week. Subscribe today—three months for fifty cents.

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These are your elected officials. Write to them today. Demand that they keep the country out of foreign wars.

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Robert F. Wagner
James M. Mead

Representatives:
(At Large)
Matthew J. Merritt
Caroline O'Day

Cong. District
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2. William B. Barry
3. Joseph L. Pfeifer
4. Thomas H. Cullen
5. James H. Hefferman
6. Andrew L. Somers
7. John J. Delaney
8. Donald L. O'Toole
9. Eugene J. Keogh
10. Emanuel Celler
11. James A. O'Leary
12. Samuel Dickstein
13. Louis J. Capozzoli
15. Michael Joseph Kennedy
16. William T. Pheiffer
17. Joseph Clark Baldwin
18. Martin J. Kennedy
19. Sol Bloom
20. Vito Marcantonio
21. Joseph A. Gavagan
22. Walter A. Lynch
23. Charles A. Buckley
24. James M. Fitzpatrick
25. Ralph Abernethy Gamble
26. Hamilton Fish
27. Lewis K. Rockefeller
28. William Thomas Byrne
29. E. Harold Cluett
30. Frank Crowther
31. Clarence E. Kilburn
32. Francis D. Culkin
33. Fred J. Douglas
34. Edwin Arthur Hall
35. Clarence E. Hancock
36. John Taber
37. W. Sterling Cole
38. Joseph J. O'Brien
39. James W. Wadsworth
40. Walter Gresham Andrews
41. Alfred E. Beiter
42. John C. Butler
43. Daniel Alden Reed

NEW JERSEY

Senators:
William H. Smathers
W. Warren Barbour

Representatives:
Cong. District
1. Charles A. Wolverton
2. Elmer H. Wene
3. William H. Sutphin
4. D. Lane Powers
5. Charles Aubrey Eaton
6. Donald H. McLean
7. J. Parnell Thomas
8. Gordon Canfield
9. Frank C. Osmers, Jr.
10. Fred A. Hartley, Jr.
11. Albert Lincoln Vreeland
12. Robert Winthrop Kean
13. Mary Teresa Norton
14. Edward J. Hart

CONNECTICUT

Senators:
Francis T. Maloney
John A. Danaher

Representatives:
(At Large)
Lucien L. Maciora

Cong. District
1. Herman Kopplemann
2. William J. Fitzgerald
3. James A. Shanley
4. Leroy D. Downs
5. J. Joseph Smith

Senate Exposes Stimson Smear As War Makers Get Desperate

(Continued from page 1)

dressed to a civilian, now a soldier, at his home.

Despite this flimsy evidence, the war-mongering newspapers took up the smear, the notoriously British New York Times heading an editorial, "Mr. Wheeler Goes Too Far," and the New York Herald Tribune echoing the war cry with a piece called "On Dangerous Ground."

The President joined in the smear at a press conference, announcing that he believed these two newspapers covered the situation to his liking.

But in the session on the Senate floor this week, the American public was given a clear picture of the steps to which the war bund has descended.

Senator Wheeler pointed out that the postcards were printed and mailed before the draft extension was proposed; that they contained extracts from statements that had appeared in the Congressional Record, and that they were sent to a general mailing list, and merely urged the recipients to write the President urging him to keep the country out of war. The America First Committee reimbursed Senator Wheeler for the costs of this mailing.

Free Speech The Issue

He proved the postcards were not aimed at soldiers; that they did not concern the draft extension issue; that if it was "subversive" or "treason" to urge the people to express themselves on the war issue, the democratic right of free speech was no longer acceptable to the Administration. He pointed out that the question this smear raised was whether the people should retain their Constitutional right to oppose proposed governmental policies.

Senator Hiram Johnson of California took up the discussion, imploring Mr. Wheeler to stick to his fight. "I stand with you," he said. "If we must go to a concentration camp I will go with you and there will be two of us at least. We will go together, and we will stand up together for what we believe to be the rights of the people of the United States."

"The Hope Of Democracy"

Senator Vandenberg of Michigan said Senator Wheeler "represents not the seeds of treason but the hope of democracy."

Senator Barkley of Kentucky, New Deal Senate leader, paid a glowing tribute to Senator Wheeler as "one of the ablest and one of the most courageous men in public life." Without venturing any defense of Stimson, he tried, however, to turn the session to a discussion of the franking privilege. He halted in this effort when he was reminded by Senator Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri that franked mail had been used in 1938 to help Barkley win his campaign for re-election.

Others who rallied to Mr. Wheeler's defense were Senators Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Millard E. Tydings of Maryland; Dennis Chavez of New Mexico; Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota; and C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois.

The Stimson-Roosevelt smear was taken as evidence this week that the Administration is becoming panicky over its inability to sway the American people from their opposition to war; that this fantastic "treason" charge — like similar smears against Charles A. Lindbergh and other anti-war leaders—was arranged in a desperate, but false and futile, effort to halt the rapidly advancing anti-war movement.

Tobey Seeks Freedom Here

Tells Mineola Rally U.S. Democracy Suffers

(Continued from page 1)

Tobey charged that one of the "four freedoms" — freedom of speech—was being undermined by the Administration and Administration spokesmen who attempt to smear Americans giving voice to the majority opinion against war.

Thomas Also Speaks

The rally also heard Norman Thomas score as unnecessary President Roosevelt's attempts to secure a declaration of National Emergency from Congress.

Senator Tobey said "the greatest threat to our American way of life is right here in America, in Washington, where a large part of the Senate and House membership has abdicated or surrendered the powers granted them under the Constitution. The Constitution itself says that Congress shall have power to make rules and regulations governing the Army and Navy.

"Let us demand that the Executive take no further steps tending to our involvement in a shooting war, without taking Congress into his confidence and securing Congressional approval."

Senator Tobey quoted an appeal by William Henry Chamberlain, correspondent in Europe and Asia for the Christian Science Monitor for eighteen years, who recently wrote:

"Let us remember that by every Christian humanist, democratic standard, every individual American life is sacred and precious, to be sacrificed only if our own security is threatened; not to be thrown away in the interest of foreign powers. Let us never forget that the surest road to fascism, to communism, to every other form of brutalitarian state is through war."

Thomas Denies "Danger"

Mr. Thomas declared that no reason existed for a declaration of emergency by Congress. He said that if the President's statement is true that the "danger today is infinitely greater" than when Congress adopted the Conscription law, it "can only be because he is preparing an army to use, contrary to his solemn promises to the American people, in Africa, Europe and possibly Asia."

"The best opinion is that the invasion of England is definitely postponed, perhaps forever," he said. "Where, then, Mr. President, lies this infinitely greater danger than existed when our boys were promised that they would not be held for more than a year's training? It can only exist if it is your intention to go from Iceland to Europe and Africa and possibly Siberia. And for that kind of war, which you promised us never to enter, we are not and should not be prepared."

Card Party Sponsored At Newark Office

A card party, with proceeds to be used for the purchase of office equipment, was to be sponsored by the New Jersey State Headquarters, Thursday, July 31, at the headquarters, 32 Commerce St., Newark.

War Makers Would Stop Jap To Save British Aggression

(Continued from page 1)

plore these moves, but they are none of our vital business.

Of course the next Japanese step will doubtless be to move into Thailand (Siam). If they do this, they will be guilty of an act of aggression. Their object will be to cut off Singapore from the rear and the Burma road as well. Singapore is the British outpost and the presence of the British there represents an act of aggression just as the presence of the Japanese in Siam will be an act of aggression.

Should We Save Aggressors?

Why should we send men to enable Britain to hold control of Singapore? There are people who love Britain's empire and want to see it maintained. But will any man in his right sense say we ought to send armies to Singapore to save British aggression? We may choose between dictators and democrats, but certainly not between one aggressor and another.

The proposition that our material interests are at stake is a pure fiction, like the fraudulent crisis built on our army "melting away." The Dutch East Indies —which the Dutch aggressors hold as a result of their invasions and conquests—where 200,000 Dutchmen lord it over 53,000,000 orientals—has tin, rubber, oil, as has Malay owned by the British. We need that tin and that rubber, but there is no remote threat to our supplies there since the chief reason for any nation owning these islands is to sell these rich products to us.

Justice At Present

Our idea of justice at the moment—though it is not an old American idea—is that Britain and Holland and France and America and European countries generally as well as ourselves have the right to grab and own all the resources in their own hemispheres and those of Asia as well and that while it is alright for Britain to seize or steal resource lands anywhere in the world, it is an act of unspeakable aggression for Japan to steal them in Asia.

Americans cannot look on these Japanese moves with approval, but she can see with clarity that we have no business mixing in them and that mixing in is being done not in the interest of democracy or even of ourselves but in the interest of Britain's indefensible empire in the East.

Attend These Meetings—Hear These Broadcasts

FRIDAY, August 1.—South Bronx Chapter Rally, 138th Street and Willis Boulevard, Bronx. Speakers: Douglas Gregory and Mrs. Ann C. Patterson 8:15 P.M.

SUNDAY, August 3.—RADIO BROADCAST. Hudson County Chapter Regular Weekly Program. Station WHOM. Speaker: Professor Edward Reisner. 11:00 P. M.

TUESDAY, August 5.—New Britain, Conn. Rally at New Britain, Conn. Speakers: Edward Atwell and Vincent Ferrari. 8:30 P. M.

THURSDAY, August 7.—RADIO BROADCAST. Brooklyn Chapter Regular Weekly Program. Station WBYN, 9:45—10:00 P. M.

SUNDAY, August 10.—All-day picnic, sponsored by New Jersey State Headquarters of America First Committee. Further details from Headquarters, 32 Commerce St., Newark, N. J.

SUNDAY, August 10.—RADIO BROADCAST. Hudson County Chapter Regular Weekly Program. Station WHOM. 11:00 P. M.

FRIDAY, August 22.—Dumont Chapter Rally, Dumont, N. J., Chairman: Mrs. Creighton Oberbaugh.

(NOTE: In some cases, final arrangements for activities listed have not been made as we go to press. Fuller details can be obtained from chairmen of chapters sponsoring the meetings.)

Wheeler Says Stimson Attempts To Gag Freedom

Holds Administration Aims To Suppress War Opposition

Cites Use Of Frank To Reelect Roosevelt; Asks If President's Pledge Is Now 'Treason'

Following is the text of the address by Senator Burton K. Wheeler on the Senate floor July 28, attacking the smear campaign of Secretary of War Stimson and other Administration leaders:

Mr. President: I rise to a point of personal privilege.

I do not want any of my colleagues to think that I am complaining of Mr. Stimson's baseless attack upon me. I can take it and I can give it. The Secretary's attack is an attack upon fundamental principles of government. It involves the question of freedom of speech and freedom of petition.

Some nineteen years ago I came to the United States Senate. The late Thomas J. Walsh was my colleague. No more able man ever served in this body than Senator Tom Walsh. Old Battling Bob LaFollette—that great liberal and progressive—introduced a resolution to investigate Tea Pot Dome. Tom Walsh conducted that inquiry. He exposed graft and corruption—and I launched an investigation into the Corruption of the Department of Justice. Mr. Harry Daugherty was then Attorney General.

High Officials Frantic

As the investigation proceeded, high officials in the Harding Administration became frantic. They resolved to smear those of us who were prosecuting the investigation. Their agents were sent throughout the United States. Detectives rifled the offices of the late Senator Walsh and LaFollette. They studied my record. Government sleuths went to Montana. They journeyed from town to town. They were determined that somewhere in my past they could find something with which to smear me. These agents resorted to any and every device to find some little thing with which to attack those of us who were waging the fight against corruption. They worked hard. They were industrious. They left no stone unturned. They found nothing. Finally they deliberately framed charges—then I was indicted in Montana and in Washington, D. C.

It was a dark hour in my life, but one in which a ray of light shone. A great liberal Justice of the United States Supreme Court—one who had devoted long years to public service—called me in and said in substance: "Don't let them stop you. Keep up your fight." He told me that truth and honesty always triumphed. Time proved that he was right.

Framed charges withered in the light of facts. The indictments exploded. I accepted those base charges of a cabinet member of the Harding Administration as a badge of honor for myself.

Stimson's Accusation

A few days ago, Secretary of War Stimson accused me of "near treason." This accusation is more serious to right thinking Americans than those made by Daugherty, but I accept these low and perfidious charges of "near treason" by Secretary Stimson as another badge of honor.

Secretary Stimson's charges will blow up and boomerang, just as those made by Daugherty did, and for the same reasons. Both sets of charges were laid in the quick sands of falsehood. Such slander always reacts against its makers.

I will give my colleagues the hard, cold facts. I have here one of the now famous cards. It contains only excerpts from the Congressional Record. Every printed word is taken from speeches of President Roosevelt, former President Hoover, Colonel Lindbergh, Senator Nye, and myself. Every printed word on this card is in the Congressional Record. Can it be that the Record is a treasonable document? Can it be that reading the Record is a "subversive activity?"

Who in the United States Senate believes that the card and all on it is not frankable?

To whom were these cards sent?

With deliberate cunning Secretary Stimson created the utterly false and spurious impression that I had circulated this franked card principally among selectees — and that it encouraged these American boys to resist any attempt to keep them in service over a year.

Assails War-Mongering Papers

I denounce these attempts of Secretary Stimson and war-mongering newspapers who seek to convey such an untruthful impression as both deceptive and un-American.

At my direction a million or more of these cards were mailed to all names which appeared on a commercial list. It contained the names and addresses of Americans in every walk of life. I did not examine it, though I assume all responsibility. There is nothing extraordinary in using these lists. One of the so-called allied governments obtained such a list from the same source this very month of July. They used it to disseminate their foreign propaganda, but I have not heard Secretary Stimson charge that government with "near treason."

Frank Used In Campaign

And last fall the friends of Wendell Willkie used some of these commercial lists to frank some seven million pieces of mail to the voters. I did not and do not condemn them—neither does Secretary Stimson.

The material on this card was prepared in the first part of May, two months before we heard anything about an extension of the draft. The order was submitted to the Government Printing Office on May 27th.

At a press conference on May 28th President Roosevelt was asked if men being taken into the army would be expected to serve "for the duration." The President said the reporter was letting his imagination run away with him. This statement was generally accepted to mean that draftees would be released at the end of their year's training.

Cards Printed In June

On June 24th, 1941, the first of the cards were delivered by the Government Printing Office. On June 27th, final delivery was made. By July 1st, most of the cards were in the mail. The President did not formally request legislation to extend the training period beyond a year until July 21st, 1941, although the Chief of Staff recommended it on July 3rd.

These cards, prepared, printed and mailed before the extension of army training was suggested, contain no reference to conscription or the legislation to extend the length of service of selectees and guardsmen.

SEN. BURTON K. WHEELER

Three out of more than a million cards, we know, have reached American soldiers. Probably more will come into possession of some of the two million men who wear their country's uniform on land, sea, and in the air. But when Secretary Stimson learned that three of these cards—which reproduced President Roosevelt's solemn pledges of October 30, 1940, never to send American boys into foreign wars—had in July 1941 come into possession of three soldiers, the Secretary said:

"At this moment a circular is sent out which will necessarily have the effect of impairing that discipline and impairing that training and thus impairing our defense against the dangers which now confront this country."

Three Cards Ineffectual

If three franked cards can impair the discipline of our army; if three franked cards can impair the training of our armed forces; if three franked cards can impair our national defense, how badly we need a new Secretary of War.

If the morale of the United States Army can be either threatened or destroyed by three cards urging addressees to write the President against going to war, our national defenses are in a tragic state.

If three cards can "sabotage" General Marshall's army training program, I fear that billions upon billions of tax dollars have been wasted and I know—better than ever before—that we must avoid participation in a foreign war.

Camps Receive No Cards

Those who fear the consequences of soldiers receiving these cards will find comfort in the knowledge that the New York Times is conducting a survey to determine the exact number of cards which have reached soldiers. I have requested the results of that survey. I do not have it but I can furnish incomplete returns to the Senate. The New York Times has received reports from Camp Storey in Virginia; Columbia and Fort Jackson, South Carolina; Fort Pendelton in Virginia; Fort Meade, Maryland; Fort Ontario, New York; Fort Du Pont, Delaware; and Fort Devens in Massachusetts. Without exception, the camps reported that not a single card had been received.

I do not apologize for sending a million cards bearing excerpts from the addresses of such eminent Americans as President Roosevelt, former President Hoover, Ambassador Kennedy, Senator Nye and Colonel Lindbergh. I only wish I could afford to send one of these cards to every American Father and Mother in the country. I only wish that I had the funds, or that a patriotic group like America First could afford, a hundred million cards to be sent to each of the 79% of the American people who oppose war today. I only wish I could send under my frank an urgent appeal to every American to exercise his right of petition for peace and democracy now.

Means Of Informing Citizens

The dissemination of intelligence is a bulwark of democracy. Only a knowledge of facts permits an intelligent decision. If the American people have the facts—they will ultimately reach a correct conclusion. Only those who seek special privilege — or those who would impose their will upon the people would deny the freest exchange of ideas or facts.

I have also used the franking privilege to encourage expression from the American people. The voter can express himself directly only on election day—and between elections the President of the United States and every Senator and Congressman must depend largely upon letters to know the wishes of the people.

In 1936, the Democratic National Committee sent not one million, not two million, but 13,500,000 pieces of franked mail containing excerpts from the Congressional Record to American voters. This wholesale mailing was designed to aid the re-election of President Roosevelt.

Well Organized Smear Campaign

This present villification of those of us against war is all a part of a well organized and carefully planned smear campaign by the war-mongers to silence opposition to war. First, Chief of Staff Marshall described as "sabotage" certain alleged efforts to arouse draftees and national guardsmen against draft extension legislation. He did not tell us who was making these efforts. He did not tell us who these sabateurs were.

The next day, Mr. Stimson—aided and abetted by high salaried War Propagandists—delayed his scheduled press conference. War Department officials whispered to newspapermen that most important developments had caused the postponement. This sly unofficial announcement assured full attendance.

Finally the warlike Secretary spoke: "Some matters, however, have come to my attention today, including two circulars franked by Senator Wheeler.

"Without expressing legal opinions, I will simply say I think that comes very near the line of subversive activities against the United States, if not treason."

Hitler's Definition Of 'Treason'

I might state, parenthetically, that the Secretary's version of "treason" or "near treason" is not taken from the Constitution of the United States, or any statement or writing of any responsible person in the history of this country. When the Secretary of War charges that sending excerpts from the Congressional Record to American people is a "subversive activity" and "near treason," it is obvious that his definition of treason must be one which could be found only in the philosophies and preachings of Hitler and Stalin.

* * *

Whatever temporary success this smear campaign has enjoyed can be attributed to the artful planning and the falsity of its foundation.

The Secretary apparently cares not for truth or facts. He wanted the American people to believe that I had circulated army camps. That impression was created, with cold and calculated cunning. It is false—but it sired those shrieking headlines.

This attack was not made against a particular United States Senator or a particlar individual. It was not made because of what appeared on the card or to whom they were addressed. It was made to silence all those who oppose and fight our entry into war. It is a part of a program to terrify the American people into submission—to make them accept participation in a foreign war.

Maintaining Peace Not Treason

Which is treasonable — to plunge this country into a disastrous and ruinous war, or to maintain peace?

Which is subversive—to deny freedom of speech, press and petition, or to maintain our civil liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. Stimson apparently believes the suppression of Constitutional Government and war constitute a mark of patriotism. I do not.

A year ago, the move for an enlarged army was launched.

(Continued on page 4)

WE NEED YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT NOW

The extent of our activities depends entirely on the contributions of our members.

Your contribution enables us to conduct meetings, publish literature and interest new minds in our work.

If you possibly can, will you please contribute now to carry on this important work? Your contribution, however small, will enable us to reach and influence others—to broaden the scope of this movement so that we will be able to reach thousands of new members weekly.

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I enclose $.....to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

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Address .....City .....

☐ I am a member of America First.

☐ I wish to enroll as a member of the America First Committee. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power or subversive organization.

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British Plan AEF For Europe

The sinister game of the international clique in London and Washington to pull this country into war never ends. The latest to get into the game is Sir Gerald Campbell, director of Britain's propaganda in this country.

First rule of this game is to deceive, misinform, make false promises to the American people. Second rule is to consider the people too stupid to understand the simple facts of war and too dumb to decide this vital issue for themselves.

Campbell knows these rules well. And so this week he announced that the United States would not need to send an A.E.F. to the British Isles because the British have so many soldiers there now that there is not room for any more.

Campbell's statement was made in the midst of one of the most important debates on the war issue that Congress and the people have yet faced—the question of whether the government's promise to the draftees should be broken and they be kept in service for more than a year; and the question of whether extending their service would give the war-makers the opportunity they want for an A.E.F. Campbell, of course, was trying to deceive the American people into believing if this country goes to war there will be no A.E.F.; that it is safe to keep the soldiers in the army for a longer period.

Coming from Campbell, this is the official British point of view. But far from reassuring the American people, it clears up a puzzle. We now know what part the United States will be called upon to play in the war—the costliest, dirtiest, bloodiest part of all.

The British say they will not accept peace until Germany is crushed and Hitler overthrown. There is only one way to do that. It is to force an army into the continent of Europe, drive Hitler back from the countries he has conquered, and nail the Nazis on German soil. This will mean a long, devastating fight, with an army of millions. Who is going to provide that army?

If the British do not need an A.E.F. in England, it means they plan to keep most of their forces at home to protect themselves from an "invasion" that may never come. But if they want to win the war, it will have to be with an army in Europe. Will it be someone else's army—an American army?

Signs point ominously in that direction. Early in July General Archibald Wavell, British commander in the Middle East, said Britain can win the war only with America's full participation—with planes, tanks, munitions, transports, and men.

This idea was echoed and reinforced a few days later by the British Lieut. General Claude Auchinlech, who said American manpower would be necessary to win the war on Germany's own soil. Auchinlech emphasized that the war can be won only in Europe—and the reporter who interviewed Auchinlech was given this impression: "America must be prepared to wage war on the continent of Europe compared to which our expeditionary force of 1917-18 was an Elks' picnic. . . . She must be prepared not only to enter on a grand scale but QUITE POSSIBLY TO BEAR THE BRUNT OF IT."

Campbell, the British spokesman here, could not make his statement without Churchill's approval. The generals could not have made these statements without Churchill's approval. And since Churchill and Roosevelt are constantly phoning each other on how to run this war, it seems obvious that Campbell, Wavell and Auchinlech would not have been permitted to speak if their words would offend the President.

So the picture is getting clearer. The bulk of the British army will stay at home, defending England from an "invasion," while American soldiers, travelling three, four, five thousand miles away, will do the fighting on the eternally blood-thirsty soil of Europe.

There may be no A.E.F. in England in this war. But if this country does go to war, there will be an A.E.F.—an A.E.F. of millions, dying in the ghastliest, most ruinous, most senseless war of all history.

A Week's Quotes

JOHN CUDAHY, Former Ambassador to Belgium: "The demand for war is a panic cry. My impression on coming back to the United States after a recent visit in Europe is that the people who are crying for war are frenzied with a fear that has paralyzed their judgment."

SENATOR ROBERT R. REYNOLDS: "Great fear has been instilled into the minds of the American people by false propaganda delivered daily in large but evidently digestible doses from hour to hour, by newspaper columnists, editorial writers, magazine editors, radio commentators, pamphleteers and the motion producers of propaganda films . . .

"As to fear of invasion of this country, the Axis powers are daily weakening as a result of the destruction of their equipment and the loss of their men, rather than being strengthened in so far as fighting personnel and adequate equipment is concerned."

REP. JOSEPH W. MARTIN: "Under conditions of choas, confusion, exhaustion, gigantic, public debt, discontent, grief and the hatreds and agonies left as the awful aftermath of the war, the Communists and Fascists will find fertile fields in which to plant their propaganda for debt repudiation, property confiscation, abolition of the Constitution, and the establishment of a dictatorship of the Stalin type or the Mussolini or Hitler type.

"There will come a terrible danger that we in America, in that terrible time, may lose those four freedoms we hear talked about so much and which we are supposed to carry to all the peoples everywhere in the world."

MOST REV. FRANCIS L. BECKMAN, Archbishop of Dubuque: "How can we account for the coddling of Communists in every responsible branch of our Government? Truly there is something rotten here! These unmolested commissars are disciples of that 'new order' we may expect as masters if this country goes to war. We have been blind and criminally irresponsible in harboring these archenemies of Christianity."

On The Peace Front

The publication "Uncensored" reveals the following example of "unbiased" reporting by the war-making New York Times—the newspaper whose intricate British connections were so ably exposed by the book, "England Expects Every American To Do His Duty":

"On April 24 Charles A. Lindbergh addressed a non-interventionist rally in New York. The New York Times reported that Father Coughlin's Social Justice was sold outside the meeting, that 'German accents were numerous,' and that the audience cheered remarks unsympathetic to Britain.

"On July 17, the Committee to Defend America and the Fight for Freedom, Inc., held a pro-war rally in the same hall presided over by Wendell L. Willkie. Outside the mass meeting Communists distributed copies of the Daily Worker, the New Masses and the latest statement of the Communist party. Inside the hall Communists revealed their presence by applauding references to the Soviet Union. Most of the speakers emphasized their hope that the peoples of the dictator countries would be freed, and mentioned specifically Germany, Italy and the conquered territories. But they failed to mention Stalin's people. None of these aspects of the meeting were reported by the New York Times."

The Times prints "all the news that's fit to print"—and if it serves the British cause.

Before the Russo-German war, when Red Russia was in disfavor with the administration, the newspaper PM daily published a pale orange border on its first page.

Since the war, however, when the Administration now looks on Russia as one of the fellow-democracies, PM has changed its border—making it redder by three or four shades.

Reports from America First members in the South indicate that that region is gradually becoming awakened to the dangers of a foreign war. There is a slow, but increasing interest in the committee—and many Southerners are realizing the fallacy and threat of "everything short of war" reasoning.

The following paragraph was written by Hillaire Belloc, noted British writer, in 1925. Discussing the World War, Belloc said:

"The most comic part of the affair was the attitude toward America. We dared not insult America, for we were naturally as keen on getting American help as is a drowning man on catching a deck chair. In their ignorance, many people came to believe that it was the duty of Americans to come over and help, and what was more astonishing still, it was represented to them as a matter of life and death, not to us but to themselves.

"The Americans were told—heaven knows whether any of them believed it—that if the Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians, Turks and others won in their push against the English, French and Italians, that after the half-baked won against the baked, the next thing would be a sailing of the conquerors over the sea for the rude domination of Scranton, Pa. Fiddlesticks! But people would really talk like that. They shook their fingers at the United States and said, 'It will be your turn next'."

If the war-makers in America have their way, with a few changes of names this quotation will be appropriate again in 1950—and every twenty-five years thereafter.

Wheeler Answers Smearers, Says Stimson Attempts To Suppress Freedom Of Speech

(Continued from page 3)

National Guardsmen assembled at Camps. The Army had begun its expansion program. Many people favored war. Willkie charged that President Roosevelt was leading the nation into war. As Willkie's strength seemed to be mounting, the Democrats insisted that the President go on the stump, not once, not twice but many times in those last few days before election day of 1940, President Roosevelt stood before microphones and promised peace, peace.

Soldiers Heard Pledges

Undoubtedly soldiers heard, read and believed those pledges. Secretary Stimson did not charge the President with "subversive activity"—he did not charge his Commander-in-Chief with "near treason." But when I reproduced and distributed President Roosevelt's peace pledges nine months later, then cries arose of "traitor," "treason."

If one, two, certainly if three members of our armed forces is listening, then one can plead the cause of peace only under the penalty of being labelled a traitor. If a newspaper reaching an army camp publishes an anti-war speech, then it engages in subversive activities.

Under this new formula announced by Stimson and approved by the President, freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of petition are suppressed in America, by calling the utterances of speakers or writers treasonable.

Wheeler's Americanism

I would rather be the humblest American than prince, king, or potentate, or Czar in Europe or Asia. I am an American citizen and I will exercise all my prerogatives as such. I may differ with my colleagues on both domestic and foreign policies but I never question their patriotism. I feel that they do not question mine. I disagree with Secretary Stimson, Knox, Ickes, and all the rest of the Cabinet—but I do not question their patriotism much as I abhor their reasoning and judgment. I disagreed with Wendell Willkie but I did not charge, as did some influential Democrats, that because he had a German name that he was Nazi, an anti-Semitic, or that he wanted to create a dictatorship in this country.

If an American Senator cannot ask the people of America to petition the President to keep us out of war; if free speech and free assemblage is to be denied in this country, democracy in the United States will have been sabotaged while we talked of establishing the four freedoms all over the world.

We must not, we cannot ask American boys to die upon the bloody battlefields of Europe and Asia to establish liberties denied the people of the United States.

So long as this country remains at peace, so long as this Congress has not declared the United States to be at war, so long as we retain a remnant of democratic government, I will not be silenced.

I will speak the truth as I see it.

"Truth wears no mask, bows at no human shrine, neither seeks place or applause. It only asks a hearing . . ."

Time and history will prove who was blinded by clouds of glory, who sought to sell America's birthright for a mess of pottage—and it will prove, too, who honestly and rightly fought to preserve this land as a free, democratic republic.

Mr. Arthur Berkowitz
1710 Montgomery Ave.
Bronx, N. Y.
Exp. A 9-26-41

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Sub Incident Recalls War Bloc Urged U. S. To Shoot First

War Makers Plan New Acts To Push Shooting Conflict

President Roosevelt had not yet made his nation-wide radio address of September 11 when this issue of the Bulletin went to press. Expectations in Washington, however, were that the address would be another provocative appeal to push the nation into a shooting war.

Since the public has already shown it will not be stampeded into war by incidents such as the Greer episode, the war-makers have begun a campaign to repeal the Neutrality Act and use convoys to push the country into the conflict even faster.

The America First Committee will fight every effort of the Administration to shove the nation closer to war. It urges the people to visit their Congressmen—if the Congressmen are now at home—or to write them if they are in Washington.

To defeat the war-makers' plans, the vast majority of the public opposed to war must make it known now—plainly and unmistakably—that magnified incidents will not sway them from their determination to keep their country away from foreign conflicts.

New Hysteria Drive Would Plunge Nation Into All Out Campaign

The America First Committee issued a call this week to the American public not to allow itself to be swayed by deep-sea "incidents" into a hysteria for war.

In reply to war-makers in the Administration who seek to promote the episode in the Atlantic between the U.S.S. Greer and a German submarine into a cause for armed intervention, America First officials warned that an attempt was being made to "stampede the nation into war."

Confident that if Congress is backed by the 83% of the American people now opposed to involvement, it will not give its approval to any further war steps, the AFC called upon the public to stand on guard and resist the efforts of the war bloc to use the Greer incident to take the country into a shooting conflict.

War Makers Wanted Shooting

The New York chapter of the committee, commenting on the Greer affair in the "Battle Page" of the New York Daily News September 9, pointed out that the war-committees have continually urged the President to "shoot," and that they have been waiting for some such encounter with Nazi submarines.

The statement warned that this was the people's battle for their homes and sons to guard them from war and slaughter, and called on the public to resist attempts of the government to betray them.

"Who Fired First?"

The statement declared:

"A U-Boat and an American destroyer fire on each other in the Atlantic. Who fired first? The White House says the U-

(Continued on page 2)

PEACE

Americans may wonder at the frantic character of the effort now being made to hurry us into the war.

The President and Churchill stage a dramatic meeting at sea. One of the war columnists now admits that was for the purpose of arousement.

Then Churchill takes to the air and calls on us to get going. The Australian minister goes about America making speeches begging us to come in. Anthony Eden and Churchill declare in London that we must fight. Bevin and Morrison, labor members of the British cabinet, call on American labor to push for war.

President's Belligerent Speech

The President makes a belligerent speech in which he announces that we will not make peace until Hitler is crushed. And now what looks like a phony "incident" is staged in the Atlantic, and the President gets ready to go on the air in what is intended as another arousement for war.

Why the big fever? What's the big hurry? Particularly when, as Senator Harry Byrd—himself an interventionist — says, it would be a crime to take America into this war now utterly unprepared as she is.

Interventionists Worried

The answer is becoming obvious. Those in the America First camp occasionally become worried about these panicky efforts to start the shooting war. But they should take a little look at the other camp—the camp of the interventionists.

Fortunately, Mr. Stanley High, interventionist plugger for shooting war, reveals what is the matter with that other camp. In the Herald Tribune he writes a long letter in which he literally admits that the war spirit in America is cracking up. Mr. Walter Lippmann has already said this. He has spoken of the "low state of our war morale," of the "little crisis in morale." What he means is the crisis in the struggle of the war-hawks

(Continued on page 4)

'Constitution Day' Rally Announced

N.Y. Chapter Upholds Congress War Powers

Starting with a huge "Constitution Day" rally on September 17, the New York Chapter of the America First Committee will sponsor a series of weekly rallies and forums in its stepped-up campaign to keep the country out of war, it was announced this week.

The "Constitution Day" rally, to be held at Carnegie Hall, 7th Avenue and 57th Street, will be followed by four weekly foreign policy forums at Town Hall each Wednesday from September 24 to October 14. These forums will outline the military, economic and political reasons for staying out of war.

Wheeler As Chairman

Prominent speakers will address the Constitution rally, and a complete musical program—featuring the introduction of a new America First theme song—will be presented. Ernest Wheeler, New York attorney, will be chairman and John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York Chapter, will be temporary chairman.

Importance of the Carnegie Hall rally was emphasized in a statement this week by Edwin S. Webster, Jr., secretary of the New York Chapter, who said that the preservation of American democracy depends upon the Constitution.

Constitution Important

"With men in high places now seeking to scrap the Constitution and give the President—without consulting Congress—the full power to take the people into war, it is of vital importance that we emphasize anew our faith in the Constitution, which is the basis of our whole democracy," Mr. Webster said.

"If the Constitutional power to declare war is taken from Congress, our whole system of government will crumble. If we go into a prolonged, terrible war our civil rights will be lost and

(Continued on page 4)

Nye Sees U.S. Friendless

Says Foreign Policy Makes Us Hated Nation

NEWARK.—The United States is now following a course of international policy that will leave it friendless, "the world's most hated nation," Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota charged here this week at a rally of the New Jersey State Headquarters, A.F.C., at Cadwalader Park.

Asserting that Britain's aim in this war is not "freedom of the seas," but "domination of the seas," Senator Nye said that the British are carrying on a policy of "foreign trade as usual," while the United States is being put rapidly on a restrictive war economy.

"John Bull is in our trousers now," he declared. "But soon you are going to see Uncle Sam without trousers. We are riding to our own economic destruction."

Could Survive Trade Loss

The North Dakota Senator declared that the United States could more easily survive the destruction of the British fleet and the loss of its foreign trade than it could the carrying on of a costly, prolonged foreign war.

Pointing out that foreign trade amounts to only about 4 percent of our total trade, he declared that saving this would not be worth "one drop of blood from the veins of one American boy."

Home Trade Suffers

Our trade at home is suffering because of the war program, he continued, and he cited the case of a Kentucky bicycle manufacturer who was forced to shut his plant because of steel priorities. However, the British—to supply whom with war materials the steel priorities were invoked—have shipped a huge supply of bicycle parts to the United States, serving the same customers the American manufacturer was unable to supply.

Senator Nye commented:

"We throw people out of work for England in the name of national defense, while in Britain

(Continued on page 2)

Movie Probe Gets Started

Senate Body Told Films Create War Hysteria

WASHINGTON — Testimony that the motion picture industry is engaged in a campaign to create sentiment for war among the people was offered this week as the Senate Interstate Commerce subcommittee investigation on the industry got under way.

The subcommittee, headed by Senator D. Worth Clark of Idaho, plans to question heads of leading motion picture film companies on charges by Senators Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota and Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri that an organized attempt is being made to foment war hysteria.

In a statement delivered at the

(Continued on page 2)

Join the America First Committee

If you are an American citizen, opposed to Nazism, Fascism and Communism, you can help fight war by joining the America First Committee. Contribute to our work. Distribute our literature. Volunteer your services.

Offices of America First chapters in the metropolitan area are:

EASTERN DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
New York Office 515 Madison Avenue. (PL. 3-5425).
NEW YORK CHAPTER—Edwin S. Webster, Jr., Secretary, 515 Madison Avenue. (PL. 3-5425).
BRANCHES—3 East 47th Street, (Also Women's Division HQ). 67 Liberty Street—1050 Second Avenue, (Also Labor, Veterans HQ). 568 Third Ave., (Midtown Chapter).
BROOKLYN—14 Court Street. William T. Leonard, Chairman. (TR. 5-2952).
BRONX—1910 Arthur Avenue, Vincent A. Giaquinto, Chairman. (TR. 8-6050).
QUEENS—75-12 Broadway, Jackson Heights. Henry R. Christ, Chairman. (HA. 4-8601).
LONG ISLAND
Central Long Island Chapter—Mrs. Matthew Mason, Chairman, Medford. (Patchogue 2281-J2)
Five Towns Chapter—Judge Edgar Treacy, Chairman, 475 Oxford Road, Cedarhurst. (Cedarhurst 1452).
Freeport Chapter—James Coveney, Chairman, 211 South Ocean Avenue.
Hicksville Chapter—Madeline C. Lanzer, Secretary, Burns Avenue. (679).
North Shore Chapter—William S. Thomas, Chairman, Cove Road, Oyster Bay. (1755-M).
Rockville Center Chapter—55 Front Street, Mrs. Mary M. Theobald, Chairman. (191-W).
WESTCHESTER COUNTY
Mt. Vernon Chapter—Philip R. Carney, Acting Chairman, 1470 Midland Avenue.
Westchester County Chapter—Allan Campbell, Chairman, 99 Pondfield Road, Bronxville.
New Rochelle Chapter—William J. Baxter, Chairman, 248 Hugenot St.
Yonkers Chapter—George Knuttgen, Acting Chairman, 70 North B'way.
STATEN ISLAND—1 Slossen Terrace, St. George. Mrs. Lila I. Jump, Sec'y.
NEW JERSEY
State Headquarters—32 Commerce Street, Newark. Mrs. Mary Heninger, Secretary.
Bergen County Headquarters—378 Main Street, Hackensack. Mrs. E. D. Newby, Chairman.
Trenton Chapter—37 North Willow Street. John A. McGrath, Chairman.
Hudson County Chapter—340 Palisade Ave., Jersey City, N. J. Raymond Hanfield, Chairman (JO 2-1937).
Passaic Valley Chapter—277 Market Street, Paterson. Joseph V. Menegus, Chairman. (AR 4-6850).
Red Bank Chapter—Chester Apy, Chairman, 12 Garden Road. (2837).

SAVE THE CONSTITUTION!

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
CONSTITUTION RALLY

To keep in Congress the power to declare war
To save the country from dictatorship that war would bring

Constitution Day, September 17

CARNEGIE HALL, 7th Ave. at 57th Street
New York City
8 P.M.

GENERAL ADMISSION FREE—Reserved Seats, $1.
For reservations, call or write the New York Chapter,
America First Committee, 515 Madison Avenue, N.Y.C.
Phones: PLaza 3-5425; PLaza 3-8112

PROMINENT SPEAKERS MUSICAL PROGRAM

Kuznik Raps Army Morale

Retired Colonel Scores Political Meddling

WOODRIDGE, N. J.—Speaking before an America First Committee mass meeting at Woodridge High School this week, Col. J. V. Kuznik, U.S.A. retired, said that "there will be no problem of low morale" in the army if "the potential Gold Star mothers and fathers insist that their sons be trained efficiently, by efficient officers and above all, without political interference."

Col. Kuznik enlisted in the regular army as a private during the Spanish-American War and served in the ranks until 1901, when he won his lieutenancy. He remained in the army until after the close of the first World War, commanding a regiment in the Army of Occupation. He was in business in France until the present war broke out.

People's Confidence Shaken

"The people's confidence in their leaders has been badly shaken," he said, in discussing national morale.

"They are crying out for enlightenment upon the motives for the many war-like and dangerous acts committed by our would-be leaders, but receive no convincing or even reassuring explanation. Is it any wonder, that by its war-mongering activities, the Administration leaders have inevitably caused a crack-up in our national morale?

Charges Nepotism

"It is not a serious enough handicap to be unnecessarily trained with makebelieve weapons because of our generosity towards foreign peoples whose quarrels our President wants to settle? And what about the injection of rank favoritism and even nepotism in the all important army appointments? Do you want your sons to be led in this serious business by family pets, parlor soldiers or political henchmen? No doubt you know how by magic even an insurance agent was created an officer, a gentleman, and a military expert and spokesman for his daddy, all by the stroke of a pen.

"There can be no intelligent justification to ride rough-shod over the very men upon whose experience, efficiency and loyalty we are to build, for only dictators and not loyal public servants can with impunity use such destructive manipulations."

Here Are Your Representatives

These are your elected officials. Write to them today. Demand that they keep the country out of foreign wars.

NEW YORK STATE

Senators:
Robert F. Wagner
James M. Mead

Representatives:
(At Large)
Matthew J. Merritt
Caroline O'Day

Cong. District
1. Leonard W. Hall
2. William B. Barry
3. Joseph L. Pfeifer
4. Thomas H. Cullen
5. James H. Hefferman
6. Andrew L. Somers
7. John J. Delaney
8. Donald L. O'Toole
9. Eugene J. Keogh
10. Emanuel Celler
11. James A. O'Leary
12. Samuel Dickstein
13. Louis J. Capozzoli
15. Michael Joseph Kennedy
16. William T. Pheiffer
17. Joseph Clark Baldwin
18. Martin J. Kennedy
19. Sol Bloom
20. Vito Marcantonio
21. Joseph A. Gavagan
22. Walter A. Lynch
23. Charles A. Buckley
24. James M. Fitzpatrick
25. Ralph Abernethy Gamble
26. Hamilton Fish
27. Lewis K. Rockefeller
28. William Thomas Byrne
29. E. Harold Cluett
30. Frank Crowther
31. Clarence E. Kilburn
32. Francis D. Culkin
33. Fred J. Douglas
34. Edwin Arthur Hall
35. Clarence E. Hancock
36. John Taber
37. W. Sterling Cole
38. Joseph J. O'Brien
39. James W. Wadsworth
40. Walter Gresham Andrews
41. Alfred E. Beiter
42. John C. Butler
43. Daniel Alden Reed

NEW JERSEY

Senators:
William H. Smathers
W. Warren Barbour

Representatives:
Cong. District
1. Charles A. Wolverton
2. Elmer H. Wene
3. William H. Sutphin
4. D. Lane Powers
5. Charles Aubrey Eaton
6. Donald H. McLean
7. J. Parnell Thomas
8. Gordon Canfield
9. Frank C. Osmers, Jr.
10. Fred A. Hartley, Jr.
11. Albert Lincoln Vreeland
12. Robert Winthrop Kean
13. Mary Teresa Norton
14. Edward J. Hart

CONNECTICUT

Senators:
Francis T. Maloney
John A. Danaher

Representatives:
(At Large)
Lucien L. Maciora

Cong. District
1. Herman Kopplemann
2. William J. Fitzgerald
3. James A. Shanley
4. Leroy D. Downs
5. J. Joseph Smith

Long Island Mayor Assailed As Dictator For Barring Hall To America First

ISLAND PARK, L. I.—A new lover of the "four freedoms" for every place in the world except the United States was uncovered here this week when Mayor Emerson of Island Park refused use of the Village Park Hall for meetings of the local America First Committee unit.

The mayor, who accused Senator Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh and the America First Committee of being "pro-Nazis," said he would call on the State Militia to prevent the Committee from using the hall.

In a resolution, Island Park AFC members assailed the "arbitrary, undemocratic and dictatorial action" of Emerson in denying the taxpayers of the community the right to use their own public hall for meetings.

"The village park hall of Island Park is the property of all the tax-payers and residents of Island Park and is therefore a proper and fitting place for all reputable groups to assemble and exercise the rights of free speech and petition as guaranteed under our Constitution," the resolution read.

Meetings of the unit have previously been held at the Fire Hall in Island Park.

Valley Stream Unit Opens Headquarters

A Valley Stream unit of the AFC has been established with headquarters at 404 Rockaway Avenue, Valley Stream.

Probe Of Movies Gets Under Way

Senate Body Told Films Create War Hysteria

(Continued from page 1)

opening of the hearings, Senator Nye accused the movie companies of arousing a hatred for Hitler among the people as a necessary prelude to going to war. "You can't take the American people to war until you can make them hateful toward something," he declared. "These alleged propaganda pictures do promote a larger will and larger reason for going to war."

Some pictures that have been released, he said, "have served to drive some Americans under their very beds for fear of Hitler and his minions."

March Of Time Cited

As specific examples of movie war propaganda, Mr. Nye cited the March of Time series, "part actuality, part fiction, part scenic, part fake and part acted." One of these releases—"Peace, By Adolph Hitler," was so war-mongering that even before it was released the producers called on all their friends to protect it from attacks that they knew were bound to come, he declared.

Senator Nye said a witness would take the stand and swear that an agent of the government had ordered producers to make propaganda pictures.

The North Dakotan also scotched attempts by the industry through its counsel—Wendell L. Willkie—to answer all charges with the statement that the probe was "anti-Semitic."

"If the anti-Semitism issue is now raised it is raised by those of the Jewish faith and those who would prejudice the issues in this study—not by me and not by this committee," he declared. As one opposed to this country's involvement in war, he said he would have made the same charges if those primarily responsible for movie propaganda had been members of any other faith.

Nye Sees U.S. Friendless

Says Foreign Policy Makes Us Hated Nation

(Continued from page 1)

they're taking our steel to manufacture for world trade. Britain is beating us blind today in trade with Latin America."

Urges People To Protest

The only way the march toward war can be halted, he emphasized, is for the American people to continue vigorous protests to the President and Congress against involvement.

"There is only one force that can stop this madness," he said. "It is you. Congress goes only so strongly as Congress finds the people back home. We'll stay free despite what two men in a boat decide is good for us."

The rally also heard the Rev. John A. O'Brien, professor of philosophy at the graduate school of the University of Notre Dame, who assailed proposals of lend-lease aid to Russia. Father O'Brien called Stalin "the worst butcher of Christians in the world."

Mourn Mrs. Roosevelt

At the opening of the meeting, the audience stood for one minute in respect to the memory of Mrs. Sara Delano Roosevelt, mother of the President. Senator Nye regretted that he was to speak against the President's foreign policy under such circumstances.

Another large rally for Newark has been planned by the Jersey headquarters at the Mosque Theatre, 1020 Broad Street, on September 23. Senator Nye will also speak at this meeting, as will former Senator Rush D. Holt of Virginia. General admission will be free, and reserved seats will be sold at $1.00 and fifty cents each.

For the facts about the fight to keep America out of war—read the America First Bulletin.

U-Boat Incident Recalls Close Advisers Urged President To "Start Shooting"

(Continued from page 1)

Boat fired first. The Germans say the destroyer fired first.

"The American people cannot settle the matter by saying that the German government is lying. Of course the German government will lie when that serves its purpose. But, alas! in war, all governments lie. Hitler has filled high heaven with his lies. The British government filled the world with its lie of atrocities in the last war and when the war was over, boasted of it. The American government in the last war denied there was secret treaties and later the secret treaties were printed.

Americans Want Truth

"Americans want to know the truth. Therefore, let's look at the plain facts. Who wants America in the war? Certainly not the Germans. With England and Russia to lick, they have been careful not to invite us in. Hence firing on an American destroyer does not jibe with their own selfish policy. But the American government hankers to get in. The Secretaries of War, the Navy, and the President's close advisers have begged him to shoot.

"The Fight For Freedom Committee, a front for White House propaganda, recently printed a big newspaper ad beginning: 'WHAT ARE WE WAITING FOR, MR. PRESIDENT?' The ad urged 'Shooting of any Axis U-Boat and raider which the American Navy sights.'

"It printed another ad reading: 'DON'T WAIT FOR THE WHITES OF THEIR EYES!' It added in heavy black type: 'SHOOT FIRST! SHOOT NOW!' Later another War Committee printed a big ad starting off with big blocked, black letters: 'LET'S START SHOOTING, MR. PRESIDENT!'

"Now what the Germans are saying is merely that the President has obligingly complied with the frantic appeals of his own closest supporters. They should be delighted to learn the Nazi charge is true. It would disappoint them to find it false.

Columnists Foresaw Incident

"Aslop and Kintner were two columnists until the draft drove them to enlist in soft berths in the Navy and Army. One is a relative of the Roosevelt family. Both were looked upon as pipe line columnists from the White House to the public. Read what they said in the New York Herald Tribune on June 4th:

"'In the past week, he (the President) has been repeatedly urged to order immediate action. He has been warned that to delay was to court disaster. He has been able to act, for all the necessary preparations for meeting the Germans' threat in the Battle of the Atlantic have at last been completed. Yet he has not acted because he hopes to drive the Germans to shoot first.

"'Perhaps instead of depending on one simple question the future depends on two. The men around the President are now united in urging him to order action out of hand, without waiting for a pretext. If they fail, if the President's determination is not weakened by the remorseless logic of events, then a second question will have to be answered. Will the President's plan succeed?

"'The problem was mentioned in this space in a recent discussion of the Atlantic patrol, in which it was pointed out that THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEN AROUND HIM PRIVATELY HOPE THE PATROL WILL PRODUCE AN INCIDENT.

"'No one can doubt the German high command will do everything possible to avoid shooting first.'

Attempt to Trick Germans

"What these two columnists friendly to the White House are saying is that the President himself is trying to trick the Germans into shooting first and that if they won't shoot first, then his intimate advisers want him to do the shooting.

"The President told you he would never take you to war. Yet here is inside news from the White House that he is trying to get around that pledge by inducing the Germans to shoot first. What could be worse that that? The Germans have refused to shoot first. Has the President now complied with the advice of the men around him and with his own secret desires?

"AMERICANS, BE ON YOUR GUARD! THE PRESIDENT IS PREPARING TO STAMPEDE YOU INTO WAR WHEN HE GOES ON THE AIR. REMEMBER YOU ARE BATTLING FOR YOUR HOMES, YOUR SONS, TO GUARD THEM FROM WAR AND SLAUGHTER.

"DO NOT LET YOUR GOVERNMENT BETRAY YOU!"

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Official Paper, America First Committee, New York Chapter, Inc.

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U. S. Holds Upper Hand On Nazis In Trade

A favorite argument of the interventionists is that if Hitler conquers Europe, he will be able to cut off our foreign trade, deny us necessary strategic materials for our defense and other industries, and strangle us into submission to his Nazi regime. This theory holds that a Hitler victorious in Europe could declare economic war upon the United States and, without firing a shot, reduce us to a weak and helpless nation.

This argument is utterly false. It has been emphatically refuted by Bernard Baruch, head of President Wilson's War Industries Board during the World War; by John T. Flynn, George N. Peek, Samuel Crowther, and a host of other eminent and qualified economists.

The simple fact is that if Hitler wins the war—controlling even countries like Russia, Sweden, Spain and Portugal which he has not yet conquered—his trading position, his ability to choose the countries with which he will do business, will be weaker, not stronger. Every country in Europe that Hitler conquers not only makes him less able to cut off American trade, but also makes it more urgent for him to do business with the Western Hemisphere. For there is not one country that he has occupied that does not depend desperately on the outside world either for necessary raw materials to keep its industries going; for manufactured goods, such as clothing; or for food—for meats, for dairy products, for grains.

Germany Always Forced To Trade Outside Europe

Germany has always been forced to do business with the outside world to get food for her people and raw materials for her industries. She has always been forced to import huge quantities of oil, for her synthetic industry supplies well under half her needs. Without that vital fluid her panzer divisions could not roll, her trains could not run, her vast industries could not function. She has always needed copper—essential for her electrical industries. She has needed rubber, lead, tin, foodstuffs.

When this war is over and her reserve stocks are depleted, Germany will need these things again. They are not in her own soil for her to take. Where can she turn for them?

She cannot get them from the countries she has conquered, for those countries are all in the same desperate position. If Hitler takes France and Italy into his economic sphere, for example, his headaches will only be intensified. France and Italy likewise need food imports. They also need raw materials. A few countries—like Denmark, Spain, Hungary—produce some surplus foods, but hardly enough to serve the needs of a Nazified Europe. And they need raw materials. Some countries—like Albania, Greece, Norway, Sweden—can provide a few raw materials. But they need food—food which the already hungry continent cannot give them.

Nazis Dilute Own Strength With Europe's Weaknesses

As a result, in Nazifying Europe, the Germans will have diluted their own economic strength with Europe's economic weaknesses. And, according to the Brookings Institution—a recognized, impartial economic organization—this Nazified Europe would have to buy from the outside world each year TWICE as much food, THREE TIMES as many raw materials as did Germany herself in 1937.

Clearly, these facts prove that Hitler will be in no position to dominate world trade. In a study on this subject, issued in June, the Brookings Institution said: "The important requirements of Nazi Europe are so large and so varied that she is scarcely in a position to buy or refrain from buying at will."

Nazi Europe therefore must import—or reduce itself to starving impotence. Without food imports, Europe's population would have always to suffer on short rations, lacking in cereals, fats, vegetable oils, meats and dairy products. Without raw material imports of cotton, wool, silk, jute, flax and hemp, the textile industries would be crippled—the people without clothing. Without industrial mineral imports, all manufacturing, mining, transportation, communication and farming would be seriously hampered.

Even Russia Cannot Give What Germany Needs

Even with Russia under his thumb Hitler would be little better off. He would still have to depend strongly on imports from outside Europe. In 1937, Russia could provide only fourteen percent of the total food the rest of Europe needed to import. Today food is rationed in Russia, and Stalin's policy of destroying farm lands when retreating before the Nazis means there will be food shortages for years to come. In 1937, Russia could provide only eight percent of Europe's raw material imports.

Nor could Russia provide Hitler with the vital oil he needs. The interventionist Fortune magazine itself admitted this June that Russia "has no oil to spare." Soviet oil is vitally necessary for the half-million tractors on Russia's collectivized farms. Oil today is strictly rationed in the Soviet, and Stalin is forced to import regular and high-octane gasoline from the United States to keep his war machine running. If Hitler took Russia's oil, the farms could not be cultivated, for—as a result of the destruction of 15,000,000 horses in the farmers' uprising against collectivism in the twenties—only tractors are available, and these tractors use sixty percent of all the motor fuel produced in Russia. If Hitler takes the oil he needs, therefore, he cannot get the food he needs; and if he takes the food, he cannot get the oil.

Plainly, a Nazi economy that included Russia and the Balkan countries formerly dominated by Russia would still need desperately to buy food and raw materials in the world market. Hitler would have to trade with the Americas. And we could set the terms. For here we produce what he sorely needs.

Western Hemisphere Has Vital Raw Materials

We have here the copper, and in the past the now Nazified Europe drew on us for eighty percent of its supply. We have the lead—necessary for storage batteries of automobiles, trucks, tanks, tractors and submarines. In the past we provided Europe with two-thirds of its lead import requirements. Nazi Europe has virtually no nickel resources. Nickel is an essential alloy for armor plate. For this Hitler would have to trade with Canada, while holds a virtual world monopoly. He would need cotton, and even if he controlled cotton-producing Egypt, he would still have to trade with Canada, which holds thirds of his needed supplies. The United States is the world's largest producer of cotton. These are a few of the things that Hitler needs—things he will have to get by trade with the Americas.

To get food for a Europe starved after years of war, Hitler would have to trade with us. Already the United States and South America are storing up huge supplies of foodstuffs to ship to an emaciated Europe at the war's end.

While it is evident that Hitler must trade with the Western Hemisphere, however, by no means do the Americas have to trade with Hitler. With the exception of a few food items which are not essential to us, such as tea and spices, we have in the United States an abundance of every kind of food—meats, fruits, vegetables, cereals, dairy products. We are equally secure in the matter of raw materials.

There are fourteen "strategic materials" listed by the Army and Navy Munitions Board as vitally necessary for American defense and other industrial production that are either not produced in the United States or are produced in quantities inadequate for our needs. These materials are antimony, chromium, coconut shell char, manganese, manila fiber, mercury, mica, nickel, quartz crystal, quinine, rubber, silk, tin, tungsten. But every one of these essential materials can be obtained in the quantity we need from the other American countries, or completely serviceable substitutes for them can be found in North or South America.

Antimony Production Here Relieves Dependence On China

For example, the United States now buys antimony from China. This is a necessary steel alloy, used in the manufacture of ammunition—shrapnel, shells and bullets. We produce some antimony in this country. Our own production, coupled with increased production in Mexico and Bolivia, can make us self-sufficient in that vital metal. We produce little nickel, necessary for armored plate in tanks, battleships, planes. But we can get more than we need of nickel from Canada, which produces 85 to 90 percent of the world's supply. Much of our tin now comes from the Netherlands Indies and British Malaya. We have a large reserve on hand; a new smelting plant in Texas is nearing completion that will turn out 18,000 tons a year; other smelters can be put in operation to use Bolivia's large tin resources; and we can use glass as a substitute for many products, such as tin cans.

With every other product essential to the United States the situation is the same. We can either get it elsewhere in the Americas or use an adequate substitute. In most raw materials, the United States is sturdily self-sufficient. This country normally produces two-fifths of the world's steel and could, if necessary, produce far more. One U. S. steel company today has an output equal to that of all Germany. We produce three-fifths of the world's oil, a third of its coal, a third of its copper, four-fifths of its sulphur, one-quarter of its lead, three-tenths of its zinc.

We are independent of Hitler, and even if all the products of a Nazified Europe and the countries under Japanese domination were denied us, we could continue to produce all we need for our own use and protection. The United States does not have to do business with Hitler or any combination of Hitlers.

U. S. Can Undersell Nazis In World Markets

In view of America's impregnable trade position, it is obvious that we have nothing to fear from competition with Hitler for markets outside this Hemisphere and a Nazi-dominated Europe.

Nations buy where they can get the most for their money, where they can sell their products in exchange. This has always been true and will continue to be true regardless of the country gaining the upper hand in Europe.

With her industries overturned by the ravages of war, Europe could not undersell America in these markets. The United States, having its own raw material resources and using the most efficient mass-production methods, has in the past undersold the products of "slave labor" and can do it again.

Bernard Baruch, one of America's most eminent economists who is now an advisor to President Roosevelt, has often scouted the argument that this country need fear competition from Hitler in post-war trade. In an interview with the Wall Street Journal on June 6, 1941, Mr. Baruch declared that Germany, not the United States, would be "on the spot" economically if the Nazis were to win control of the European continent.

Clearly, with Hitler facing a desperate shortage of raw materials at the war's end, many of which he can obtain only from the Americas; with this hemisphere able, if necessary, to provide itself with every strategic material necessary for its own defense and major industrial requirements; with the United States able to undersell Hitler in trade with the outside world—we have nothing to fear from a Nazi European victory.

Hitler cannot invade America with his tanks; he cannot invade us with his trade. If he should ever try, he would be writing the ticket for his own destruction.

WE NEED YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT NOW

The extent of our activities depends entirely on the contributions of our members.

Your contribution enables us to conduct meetings, publish literature and interest new minds in our work.

If you possibly can, will you please contribute now to carry on this important work? Your contribution, however small, will enable us to reach and influence others—to broaden the scope of this movement so that we will be able to reach thousands of new members weekly.

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Address .....**City**.....

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☐ **I wish to enroll as a member of the America First Committee. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power or subversive organization.**

Fill Out This Form And Send It To

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE
515 Madison Avenue
New York City

America First Bulletin

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Principles Of America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it.

2. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.

3. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.

4. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone, and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.

5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the occupied countries.

6. We advocate an official advisory vote by the people of the United States on the question of war or peace, so that when Congress decides this question, as the Constitution provides, it may know the opinion of the people on this gravest of all issues.

Peace

(Continued from page 1)

to get us into war. Stanley High says mournfully: "No, the whole truth about our war morale is not that it is now in a slump. Measured by what we are up against, it was never in anything else."

Then Mr. High goes on to say that up to now all our war steps have been taken without either the consent or the knowledge of the people. The President has taken them and told the people about them afterward. But now we cannot go much further without the consent of the people and alas! the people say—no soap.

The fault, says Mr. High is the President's poor leadership. The people look upon the war as the President's war and not theirs.

What more the President could do is difficult to say. He has tried to frighten hell out of them by telling them Hitler was coming over after them and that almost any minute he might bomb Omaha. He has encouraged the movies and the radio to sway them with war propaganda day and night. He has had his cabinet officers and his satelite mayors, including our own expert little frightener, bug-a-booing the people incessantly.

Yet in spite of all that, Mr. High is compelled to admit that the war spirit is not with us, that the good sense of the American people has stood firm—although he does not concede it is good sense.

The point of importance, however, is that Mr. High is profoundly discouraged, more or less broken hearted because the great crusade is getting nowhere, because instead of the big parade to Europe, Asia and Africa, all the war-makers have is a slump.

Little Boys Marching

Little boys marching!
Boy Scouts, and boy bands, and schoolboys, and others;
Shining-clean, washed, and all friendly and gay:
Playing at soldiers.
(Prideful your mothers)
Brave in your martial array.

Little boys—I salute you! Dim-eyed, I salute you,
Boding your doom!
On a day
A command will go forth: "Forward march!"
And you will march . . . away!

Little girls on the sidelines standing. Watching!
Simp'ring, slant-eyed, in your ribbons and laces.
Little girls—on a day again you'll be watching . . .
But the smiles will be wiped from your faces!

Little boys marching!
O grasp it and hold it! Drink of it—breathe of it!
Gold of the sunlight—and blue of the sky!
In some dim No-mans Land no more you'll see of it!
Down in the dark, where forever you'll lie!

Out! Croaking raven! Sunken-eyed sable-robed sorrow!
(Touch you not these, I pray!)
These are our dears and our darlings—our little boys marching,
Playing at soldiers . . . today!
And tomorrow?
Men! Marching! Marching forever . . .
Away!

Sen. Wheeler Denies Resignation Rumors

Senator Burton K. Wheeler this week emphatically denied rumors that he would resign from the Senate. Mr. Wheeler, a Senate leader in the fight to keep the United States from involvement in war, said he would remain in Congress and continue his anti-war efforts with more fervor than ever.

'Constitution Day' Rally Announced

(Continued from page 1)

the Constitution will be a mere memory.

"America First stands by democracy; it stands by the Constitution; it stands by Congress as the guardian of the Constitution and of the people's rights. That is why we are holding this rally and that is why this rally is so important."

General admission will be free, but reserved seats at $1 may be obtained from the Committee headquarters at 515 Madison Avenue.

Fuller details of the Town Hall meetings will be contained in the next issue of the Bulletin.

Queens Chapter Slates Field Day And Picnic

The Queens chapter will sponsor a field day and picnic on Long Island late in September or early in October, it was announced this week. Special outdoor events are being planned, and each unit in the chapter will have a special booth to enroll new members. Other chapters are also invited to provide booths for the affair.

Mrs. Rose DeLucca, Queens secretary, said this week that the Corona and Astoria units are tied for the lead in obtaining new members in the chapter's September enrollment drive.

Midtown AFC Chapter Sponsors 'Open House'

The Midtown chapter of the America First Committee formally opened its headquarters this week at 568 Third Avenue, New York City. With several guest speakers and a large attendance, the chapter sponsored a six-hour "open house," during which time refreshments were served. Chairman of the chapter is Miss J. Erskine Murray.

Keep informed of the latest developments in the American people's struggle for peace. Learn how you can help keep this country out of foreign wars. Subscribe for the AMERICA FIRST BULLETIN today.

On The Peace Front

Blood and sweat and tears and toil
Democracy—or Iran oil?
—*Anon.*

Informal polls by New York newspapers over the U.S.S. Greer-German submarine incident revealed this week that the vast majority of the people remain unswayed by the affair from their opposition to involvement in the war. Even the interventionist New York Post, which has gone on record as favoring a U. S. declaration of war, could find no more than one out of three of the persons interviewed who would make this incident a cause for war.

With the Communists now safely in its fold, the war party is reaching a new low in vilification and slander. A poster of a "Smash Hitler" meeting in Brooklyn last week—put on by the American Labor Party—showed a picture of a Nazi snake with fangs extended and labelled, "Wheeler-Lindbergh-Hoover." In a letter to Mayor LaGuardia of New York—an enrolled American Laborite—William T. Leonard, chairman of the Brooklyn A.F.C. chapter, charged a campaign to stir up hatred and intolerance among the American people, of whom more than 80% stand against entry into a foreign war.

Incidentally, this rally featured as its main speaker Representative Vito Marcantonio, who opposed all steps to war until Hitler invaded Russia. Then he did a flip-flop for Stalin.

The New York State Junior Order of Mechanics has protested vigorously to President Roosevelt against American aid to Russia under the Lend-Lease Act. Pointing to the "subversive activities of Communistic groups in this country in their endeavor to tear down our democratic form of government," the order—at its convention this week—urged that aid be denied the Reds because "the ideals, aims and principles of the Soviet Union are directly opposite to those of the United States."

While the war-makers work feverishly to push us into a shooting conflict, Army officers who are in a position to express their opinions continue to warn that the country's preparedness is in a deplorable state. Representative Albert L. Vreeland of New Jersey, Reserve Army captain who recently completed a month of active duty with an "armored" unit at Pine Camp, N. J., warned that the division had only one-fifth of its needs.

The equipment lack is "deplorable and shameful," said Representative Vreeland. "If these troops have to go into actual combat, it's going to be awfully embarrassing for somebody," he declared.

The Chicago Citizens Keep Out of War Committee this week assailed Representative Samuel Dickstein, New York interventionist, for his attack upon the America First Committee in which he asked for an investigation of the A. F. C. The Citizens Committee declared that the America First Committee promotes true Americanism, and advocates respect for the Constitution of the United States and the administrative laws of the country. The Citizens noted that Dickstein "has not advocated investigation of Communism, Nazi-ism, Fascism, British imperialism or Union Now."

A corps of U. S. government experts have been studying the South American trade situation, with especial reference to charges that the British are using lend-lease materials in their Latin American trade. Their report said that during the World War, British firms supplied their Brazilian trade with American material which had been furnished to England for war purposes. Today, the report charges, Britain is doing the same.

Metropolitan Vickers, a British concern, has recently given assurances to the Brazilian government that it can deliver 25 electric locomotives—a heavy industrial product, a product requiring many of the same materials used in war implements—and that it can fulfill its end of a contract for electrification of the Central Railway of Brazil.

Attend These Rallies—Hear These Broadcasts

SATURDAY, Sept. 13—Stapleton, S. I. Street Rally. Speakers: Robert Riley, Frances Zimmer, John F. Childs, Jean Bennett, 8:15 p.m.

TUESDAY, Sept. 16—Westchester Square unit regular weekly rally, East Tremont and Frisby Avenues, the Bronx, 8:30 p.m.

TUESDAY, Sept. 16—Valley Stream unit regular weekly rally, 404 Rockaway Avenue, Valley Stream, L. I., 8:15 p.m.

TUESDAY, Sept. 16—RADIO BROADCAST. Former President Herbert Hoover, Columbia Broadcasting System, 10:15-10:45 p.m., EDST.

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 17—Regular Astoria unit regular weekly unit rally, 75-12 Broadway, Jackson Heights, L. I., 8:30 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 17 — Constitution Day Rally at Carnegie Hall. Speakers to be announced later.

THURSDAY, Sept. 18 — Westchester Square rally, East Tremont Avenue and Eastern Boulevard, the Bronx, 8:30 p.m.

THURSDAY, Sept. 18—Wakefield unit regular weekly rally, 4325 White Plains Avenue (between 236th and 237th Streets).

FRIDAY, Sept. 19—Jersey City, N. J., Valhalla Hall, Palisade and Ravine Avenues. Speakers: Douglas Gregory and Catherine Larkin, 8:15 p.m.

FRIDAY, Sept. 19—South Bronx unit regular weekly rally, 138th Street and Willis Avenue, Bronx, 8 p.m.

FRIDAY, Sept. 19—Wakefield Chapter, Bronx. Card Party, Parkway Inn, 233rd Street and Bronx River Road, 8 p.m.

MONDAY, Sept. 22—Brooklyn rally. Brooklyn Academy of Music. Speakers: Senator Gerald P. Nye, others, 8:15 p.m.

TUESDAY, Sept. 23—Newark, N. J., Mosque Theatre. Speakers: Senator Gerald P. Nye, Ex-Senator Rush D. Holt and Jean Bennett, 8:15 p.m. General admission free; reserved seats, $1 and 50c. Radio broadcast, Mutual Broadcasting System (not WOR), 9-9:30 p.m., EDST; WOR, 11:20 p.m., EDST.

THURSDAY, Sept. 25—Maywood, N. J., Junior High School Auditorium, Bergen County. Speakers: Michael Strange and Edward Atwell, 8 p.m.

FRIDAY, Sept. 26—An Organization Meeting in charge of Mrs. D. B. Armstrong, Scarsborough, N. Y. Speaker: Col. J. V. Kuznik, 8:15 p.m.

MONDAY, Sept. 29—Corona, L. I., Lost Battalion Hall. Speakers: Representative William B. Barry and Edward Atwell, 8:15 p.m.

(NOTE: In some cases, final arrangements for meetings listed have not been made as we go to press. Fuller details can be obtained from chairmen of the chapters sponsoring the rallies.)

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PEACE

The masks are off in Washington. The whole bitter, degrading conspiracy to drag America into a war it does not want stands utterly naked before us. The performances in Congress, in the White House and in the war committees all reveal the sinister truth.

First, the Fight for Freedom Committee prepares a series of advertisements — full page — which reach an all time low in attempting to appeal to the hatreds and fears of the American people—telling Americans that the Germans are coming here to ravish our women, to bull-whip our labor-leaders, to club our citizens in the streets into submission. That Committee has adopted as its policy the words of its leader, Bishop Hobson: "Appeal to the passions of the people; don't let them think."

President's Contribution

Then immediately the President of the United States leaps in with his contribution to this "Hate-don't think!" campaign and tells the people that Hitler will come here, destroy our churches and set up his own image to be worshipped and that he has prepared a map for his conquest of South America.

The proposal to arm merchant ships is introduced in the House. It is rushed through there. The proposal to repeal the neutrality act is not discussed there because the President didn't feel it could be passed at once in the House. But when the plan to arm merchant vessels gets to the Senate Committee it is amended to repeal the neutrality act.

The plan as this is written is to pass this proposal in the Senate. The Administration leaders avoid discussion. When it is passed, they plan to deprive the House of a chance to debate this grave measure by a parliamentary trick. The House has

(Continued on page 4)

40,000 Protest Neutrality Change

Jam Garden And Street At America First Rally

More than 20,000 persons jammed Madison Square Garden, and an equal number stood outside the hall, to take part in the great America First Rally sponsored by the New York Chapter Thursday, October 30.

One of the most enthusiastic and determined demonstrations of its kind ever held in the city, the rally heard Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh and John Cudahy, former U. S. Ambassador to Belgium, as they called for an end to steps toward war and to the deception and subterfuge by which the American people have been led along toward war. John T. Flynn, chairman of the New York Chapter, was chairman of the meeting.

A condensed text of Mr. Lindbergh's address at the rally appears on page three.

Wheeler Urges Protests

Urging a nation-wide protest against the scheme to repeal provisions of the Neutrality Act that now prohibit American ships from entering the shooting zones of war, Senator Wheeler charged that the real purpose behind the plan to strip this act of its [illegible] is to create a war psychology or to make an incident possible that will plunge the nation into war."

He quoted statements made by the President in the election campaign last year in which Mr. Roosevelt called the Neutrality Act "a measure of peace." Senator Wheeler commented:

"If, as President Roosevelt said, the Neutrality Act made it clear to every American and to every foreign nation that we would avoid becoming entangled in war, then repeal of the Neu-

(Continued on page 2)

Fate Of Neutrality Law Rests On Action Of American People

To Save America From War, Write To Congress Today

The most effective thing you can do to keep the Neutrality Act, to prevent the destruction of American ships and seamen and the loss of millions of American lives in a new A. E. F., is to write, wire or telephone your Congressman today, demanding that he vote emphatically against the scheme to repeal the Neutrality Act.

A list appears below of Representatives from New York State, New Jersey and Connecticut, showing how they voted in the past on critical Administration measures. Consult this list and show it to your friends.

If your Representative voted yes for all three measures, demand that he heed your will and turn away from the path toward war. If he voted no, write him to let him know you stand behind him. If this tabulation shows your Representative to be uncertain, prove by your letters, telegrams and telephone calls that you and the majority of his constituents are unalterably opposed to the war that repeal of the Neutrality Act would cause.

It is not necessary to write long messages. Short statements —simply expressing your deep and sincere conviction that repeal of this act will lead to the unnecessary destruction of mil-

(Continued on page 2)

Letters And Telegrams Can Keep U. S. Vessels Away From War Zones

WASHINGTON—As debate on the scheme to remove the war-checking provisions of the Neutrality Law reached its decisive phases this week, it became plainly evident that letters and telegrams and telephone calls from the American people would be needed to insure defeat of this proposal.

The fate of this scheme, it appeared probable, would be decided in the House of Representatives. And there the determination of the people to keep out of war and to retain the Neutrality Law as the barrier against war can best be expressed.

Meaning Of Repeal Obvious

With each passing day, what repeal of the Neutrality Law would mean becomes more and more obvious. The war-makers in Congress seek to throw out those safeguards which now prevent American ships from traveling and carrying contraband into the ports of nations at war. The waters surrounding those ports are laid with mines and infested with submarines. Ships moving into them will be shot at and sunk, the lives of thousands of American seamen will be lost, and the war-makers will use these incidents as further cause for our participiation in an "all-out" war.

Call For A. E. F. Next

If these ship sinkings occur, the next step in the war-makers' march will be to call for an American Expeditionary Force. The first of these calls have al-

(Continued on page 2)

Committee Ready To Fight Congress War Bloc At Polls

Chapter Heads Tell Senators, Representatives They Will Be Judged By Vote On Neutrality Act

WASHINGTON—Chairmen and representatives from more than 250 chapters of the America First Committee, meeting here, pledged themselves this week to work for the defeat in the 1942 elections of any members of the Senate or House voting for repeal of the Neutrality Act and for the sending of U.S. ships into the war zones.

The resolution denounced the plot to involve the country in war by repealing this act, and warned that Senators and Congressmen who disregarded the will of the people by voting for repeal would be unyieldingly opposed, regardless of party affiliations, at the polls next year.

The chapter officials called for full and unlimited debate in the House on the Neutrality Act, attacking the plan to push the measure through without giving members an opportunity to discuss it.

A resolution was also adopted calling on President Roosevelt to withdraw American troops from Iceland—where they are now stationed together with troops of Great Britain—and to order American vessels out of the war zones.

Seek Facts On Reuben James

A third resolution, addressed to Senator David I. Walsh, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, urged that the true facts be ascertained on the sinking of the destroyer Reuben James.

Noting tnat the Reuben James was sunk under circumstances similar to those attending the torpedoing of the destroyer Kearney, while convoying munitions of war to British ports or bases, the resolution urged that the following questions be asked

(Continued on page 2)

Join the America First Committee

If you are an American citizen, opposed to Nazism, Fascism and Communism, you can help fight war by joining the America First Committee. Contribute to our work. Distribute our literature. Volunteer your services.

America First chapters in the metropolitan area are:

EASTERN DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
New York Office 515 Madison Avenue. (PL. 3-5425).

NEW YORK CHAPTER—Edwin S. Webster, Jr., Secretary, 515 Madison Avenue. (PL. 3-5425).

BRANCHES—3 East 47th Street, (Also Women's Division HQ). 67 Liberty Street—1050 Second Avenue, (Also Labor, Veterans HQ). 568 Third Ave., (Midtown Chapters). 519 Sixth Ave. (Village Chapter).

BROOKLYN—44 Court Street. William T. Leonard, Chairman. (TR. 5-2953).

BRONX—1910 Arthur Avenue, Vincent A. Giaquinto, Chairman. (TR. 8-6050).

QUEENS—75-12 Broadway, Jackson Heights. Henry R. Christ, Chairman. (HA. 4-8601).

STATEN ISLAND—1 Slossen Terrace, St. George. Mrs. Lila I. Jump, Sec'y.

NEW JERSEY
State Headquarters—32 Commerce Street, Newark. Mrs. Mary Heninger, Secretary.
Bergen County Headquarters—378 Main Street, Hackensack. Mrs. E. D. Newby, Chairman.
Trenton Chapter—37 North Willow St. Miss Lillian Harney, Secretary.
Hudson County Chapter—340 Palisade Ave., Jersey City, N. J. Raymond Hanfield, Chairman (JO 2-1937).
Passaic Valley Chapter—277 Market Street, Paterson. Joseph V. Menegus, Chairman. (AR 4-6850).
Red Bank Chapter—Chester Apy, Chairman, 12 Garden Road. (2837).

CONNECTICUT
Stamford Chapter—Gregory Mason, Chairman, 109 Atlantic St., (3-8158).
Bridgeport Chapter—Mrs. Phillips, Chairman, 305 Fairfield Ave.

LONG ISLAND
Baldwin Chapter—Edmund H. Sheaff, Chairman, 24 Lancaster Ave. (Baldwin 6742).
Central Long Island Chapter—Mrs. Matthew Mason, Chairman, Medford. (Patchogue 2281-J2)
Five Towns Chapter—Judge Edgar Treacy, Chairman, 475 Oxford Road, Cedarhurst. (Cedarhurst 1452).
Freeport Chapter—James Coveney, Chairman, 211 South Ocean Avenue.
Hicksville Chapter—Madeline C. Lanzer, Secretary, Burns Avenue. (679).
Rockville Center Chapter—55 Front Street, Mrs. Mary M. Theobald, Chairman. (7917-W).

WESTCHESTER COUNTY
Mt. Vernon Chapter—M. S. Severina, Chairman, 11 West Prospect Ave.
Westchester County Chapter—Allan Campbell, Chairman, 99 Pondfield Road, Bronxville.
New Rochelle Chapter—William J. Baxter, Chairman, 248 Hugenot St.
Yonkers Chapter—George Knuttgen, Chairman, 45 Warburton Avenue. (YO. 5-9230).
Peekskill Chapter—Rev. J. C. McKim, Chairman.
Scarsdale Chapter—Eliot B. Foot, Chairman, 25 Fairview Road. (Scarsdale 5309).

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Rally Protests Steps To War

Speakers At Garden Rap Schemes For Entry

(Continued from page 1)

trality Act makes it equally clear that we seek foreign entanglements, that we will become involved in war.

"Could it be that repeal of the Neutrality Act and arming merchantmen is a step made necessary by commitments and promises given warring States by President Roosevelt's former Ambassador, Mr. William Bullitt?

"Could it be that this legislation is necessary to implement certain joint staff talks between American and British Army officers? The Administration dare not deny that British and American officers met and discussed plans for a joint war effort. Think of it, joint staff talks only three or four months after the President had assured the American people there would be no foreign entanglements.

"If President Roosevelt repudiates his election promises, as Willkie did his, I fear what the future holds for America and its democratic institutions."

Cudahy Warns Of A. E. F.

Mr. Cudahy warned that American entry into the war would necessitate the sending of at least ten million soldiers to Europe, with at least two million casualties, in order to defeat Hitler.

He urged that the President issue a summons to all the nations of the world for a peace conference now. "Hitler would not dare oppose such an offer of mediation at this time, following the terrible casualties of the Russian campaign," Mr. Cudahy said. "The German people had no stomach for this war at the beginning. They are heartily tired of it now and yearn for peace. Yet, up to the present time they are given no hope of a peace which will not be more drastic in its penalties than the last one was. Versailles was always the inspiration of Hitler's oratory to a sullen, discouraged people. And regardless of the truth in the matter, it is an eneradicable conviction of the average German that the impoverishment, the unemployment, the degradation and humiliation of Germany can all be laid at the door of the Versailles Treaty which ended the war twenty-three years ago."

Mr. Cudahy declared that "Hitler is only a passing phase and would rapidly pass into eclipse if he dared to oppose the will of his generals and the German people to enter into peace negotiations."

Flynn Raps Networks

Mr. Flynn, who was introduced by the temporary chairman, Mrs. Bennett Champ Clark, denounced the broadcasting networks for their pro-war programs. He declared that they had arbitrarily cut the rally off the air by refusing to give time to the speakers. He cited evidence that in three days recently the radio chains offered 127 programs devoted to interventionist propaganda as against six devoted to arguments for keeping out of war.

Platform guests who were introduced to the audience included Senators Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota and D. Worth Clark of Idaho.

Seats Filled Fast

Crowds began gathering outside the Garden for the rally as early as 3 p.m. The doors were opened at 5:30 p.m. and in an hour and fifteen minutes all the free seats were occupied. Those unable to gain admission stood outside the Garden, packing the entire length of 49th Street from within twenty feet of Eighth Avenue to twenty feet of Ninth Avenue.

AFC Set To Fight War Bloc At Polls

Warns Congress It Eyes Vote On Neutrality Act

(Continued from page 1)

of the President and the Secretary of the Navy:

"1—Who gave the orders to the commander of the Reuben James and the commander of the Kearny to convoy merchant ships through war zones bearing contraband of war to belligerent ports or bases, which orders were directly responsible for the submarine attacks and the resulting loss of lives?

"2—When were these orders given and to whom?

"3—Under what Constitutional or other authority were they given?

"4—Were these orders in conflict with the implied promise given by Congress to the American people during the Lend-Lease debate, when authorization for convoy was eliminated from the Lend-Lease Bill?

"5—Were these orders in violation of the President's promise conveyed through Administration leaders during the Lend-Lease debate, not to attempt delivery of lend-lease goods?

"6—When the orders were given, was it, or was it not contemplated that they would result in an attack by German undersea or surface craft?

"7—Is it, or is it not, the historic practice of a belligerent power to attack naval vessels of a neutral power convoying munitions of war to its enemy?

"8—Were the orders given in anticipation that they would result in a naval incident like the Kearny or the Reuben James disasters, and with the willingness to risk the lives of American men, in order to get us in the war?

Anti-War Congress Marks Armistice

An invitation to the anti-war forces to commemorate Armistice Day with the Keep Out of War Congress at a mass meeting Tuesday, November 11, at the Capitol Hotel, 8th Avenue and 51st Street, New York City, was extended this week by Mary W. Hillyer, executive director of the Congress.

John F. Finerty, national chairman, and Norman Thomas will be the main speakers. Following their talks, there will be an "Information Please" program on anti-war subjects. Questions may be submitted now, and the authors of winning questions will be awarded a box of Christmas cards of a copy of the book, "Keep America Out of War," by Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe.

General admission will be free, but tickets for reserved seats at $1. each may be obtained from headquarters of the Keep America Out of War Congress at 22 East 17th Street, phone GRamercy 7-8534.

Danaher Says President's War Acts Stem From Conference With Eden

Every act of President Roosevelt's bearing on the international situation stems from a conference he had with the British Foreign Secretary in December, 1938, Senator John A. Danaher of Connecticut charged last week at a rally sponsored by the Greenwich, Conn., Chapter of the America First Committee.

Senator Danaher said:

"Whatever number of points Mr. Eden and Mr. Roosevelt may have agreed upon over that fateful week end history may sometime reveal, but one conclusion is certain; every single official and unofficial act of the President with reference to the international situation stems from that meeting."

Through his actions the President may create a situation from which there is no other escape than war, Mr. Danaher asserted, adding:

"Our country is being projected into the struggle for the maintenance of a European balance of power."

The America First BULLETIN tells what you can do to insure our nonintervention in foreign wars. Fifty cents brings it to you for three months. Subscribe today. Subscription blank on page 4.

Decision Nears On Neutrality

Letters And Telegrams Can Stop War-Makers

(Continued from page 1)

ready gone out, and an A. E. F. is what the President, Secretary Knox, and the other Washington war-makers really mean when they refer to America's use of "everything" to aid Britain. They use this vague language to cover their true meaning, however, because the people are not conditioned to the idea of sending millions abroad to fight and die.

In the House of Representatives, therefore, the fateful, final decision will be made. The Neutrality Law stands as a safeguard against war. If removed, the war-makers will have led the country to a position where "all-out" war becomes almost inevitable.

Plot Can Be Defeated

Preliminary estimates here show that there is an excellent opportunity to defeat this change in the Neutrality Act in the House. It was in the House that the draft-extension bill managed to pass by the slim margin of only one vote. Here the Congressmen are more sensitive to the will of their constituents.

Every member of the House of Representatives comes up for re-election next year. In many states, the Congressional primaries will begin early next year—Less than three months away. Congressmen are therefore anxious to hear the voice of the people on this issue.

They will vote as that voice expresses itself, for they realize that their vote on this crucial question will be a deciding factor in their chances for re-election.

Issue Up To People

The issue is now put squarely up to the American people—to the vast majority of the people who stand against involvement in war.

The one way to defeat this scheme to pull the country into war is to let your Congressman know that you demand of him, as your elected representative, that he heed your will.

You can do this by writing, wiring, telephoning him—and by getting as many of your friends and neighbors as you can to do likewise.

O'Brien Urges America Lead Move For Peace

Dr. John A. O'Brien, professor of philosophy at Notre Dame University, declared in an interview this week that "the greatest service America can render to the distressed masses in all the countries of Europe is to bring the war leaders to the conference table to lay the basis of a just and lasting peace."

Speaking as an individual, the Midwestern anti-war leader said that if the American people should be dragged into this war, it should be called by one name—"the Roosevelt war."

To Save America From War, Write To Congress Today

(Continued from page 1)

lions of lives and of our democracy itself—are just as effective.

Write or wire your Representatives at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Get as many others as you can—your friends and relatives, your neighbors, the men and women you work with, members of your church or social or civic groups—to write, wire or telephone today. If you are not certain of the Congressional district in which you live, you may obtain this information from your post-office, your local newspaper, or the nearest America First office.

But by all means write, wire, or telephone your Representative. Your voice expressed this way with the voice of others like you, will be heard and heeded. Every message is important. Every message will add to the tide that is needed to swamp the war-makers.

NEW YORK		Lease Lend	Draft Ext.	Ship Arming
Representatives-at-Large				
Matthew J. Merritt	(D)	Yes	Yes	No vote
Caroline O'Day	(D)	No	No	No vote
Cong. Dist.				
1. Leonard W. Hall	(R)	Yes	Yes	No
2. William B. Barry	(D)	No	No	No
3. Joseph L. Pfeifer	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
4. Thomas H. Cullen	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
5. James H. Heffernan	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
6. Andrew L. Somers	(D)	Yes	No	No vote
7. John J. Delaney	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
8. Donald L. O'Toole	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
9. Eugene J. Keogh	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
10. Emanuel Celler	(D)	Yes	No vote	Yes
11. James A. O'Leary	(D)	No	No	No
12. Samuel Dickstein	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
13. Louis J. Capozzoli	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
14. Arthur G. Klein	(D)	No vote	Yes	Yes
15. Michael J. Kennedy	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
16. William T. Pheiffer	(R)	No	No	Yes
17. Joseph C. Baldwin	(R)	Yes	Yes	Yes
18. Martin J. Kennedy	(D)	No	No	No
19. Sol Bloom	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
20. Vito Marcantonio	(AL)	No	No	Yes
21. Joseph A. Gavagan	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
22. Walter A. Lynch	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
23. Charles A. Buckley	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
24. James M. Fitzpatrick	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
25. Ralph A. Gamble	(R)	Yes	Yes	Yes
26. Hamilton Fish	(R)	No	No	Yes
27. Lewis K. Rockefeller	(R)	No	No	Yes
28. William Thomas Byrne	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
29. E. Harold Cluett	(R)	Yes	Yes	Yes
30. Frank Crowther	(R)	No	No	No
31. Clarence E. Kilburn	(R)	Yes	Yes	Yes
32. Francis D. Culkin	(R)	No	No	Yes
33. Fred J. Douglas	(R)	Yes	No	No vote
34. Edwin Arthur Hall	(R)	No	No	Yes
35. Clarence E. Hancock	(R)	Yes	Yes	Yes
36. John Taber	(R)	No	Yes	No vote
37. W. Sterling Cole	(R)	Yes	No	Yes
38. Joseph J. O'Brien	(R)	Yes	No	No
39. James W. Wadsworth	(R)	Yes	Yes	Yes
40. Walter G. Andrews	(R)	Yes	Yes	No
41. Alfred E. Beiter	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
42. John C. Butler	(R)	No vote	No	No
43. Daniel Alden Reed	(R)	No	No	No
NEW JERSEY				
1. Charles A. Wolverton	(R)	Yes	No	Yes
2. Elmer H. Wene	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. William E. Sutphin	(D)	Yes	No vote	Yes
4. D. Lane Powers	(R)	Yes	No	Yes
5. Charles Aubrey Eaton	(R)	No	No	Yes
6. Donald H. McLean	(R)	No	No	Yes
7. J. Parnell Thomas	(R)	Yes	No vote	Yes
8. Gordon Canfield	(R)	No	No	Yes
9. Frank C. Osmers, Jr.	(R)	No	No	No
10. Fred A. Hartley, Jr.	(R)	No	No	No
11. Albert Lincoln Vreeland	(R)	No	No vote	Yes
12. Robert Winthrop Kean	(R)	No	No	No
13. Mary Teresa Norton	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
14. Edward J. Hart	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
CONNECTICUT				
Representative-at-Large				
Lucien L. Maciora	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
1. Herman Koppelmann	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
2. William J. Fitzgerald	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. James A. Shanley	(D)	No	No	No
4. Leroy D. Downs	(D)	Yes	No	Yes
5. J. Joseph Smith	(D)	Yes	Yes	Yes

AFC Adds New Speakers To Roster

A series of thirty "Neutrality Meetings" to be held within the next two weeks from coast to coast has been announced by R. Douglas Stuart, Jr., National Director of the America First Committee.

In its all-out campaign to fight repeal of the Neutrality Law, the Committee has also added to its speaking roster, Dr. Hyman Lischner, former President of the B'nai B'rith in San Diego, California; former Governor William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma; the Reverend Raymond T. Wade, Methodist Bishop of Detroit; the Reverend James M. Gillis, editor of The Catholic World; the Reverend Charles M. Houser, Congregationalist of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Senator John A. Danaher of Connecticut.

Show your strength — wear your America First pin always.

Lindbergh Attacks President On War Subterfuge

Warns American Entry Means Army Of Ten Million

'Demand Leadership Of Openness And Integrity' He Urges Rally At Madison Square Garden

Following is a condensed text of the address by Charles A. Lindbergh before the America First rally sponsored by the New York Chapter at Madison Square Garden Thursday, October 30:

At regular intervals in the life of a man or of an organization, there is much to be gained by re-surveying policies and convictions in the ever growing light of experience.

A great deal has taken place since this war began in the fall of 1939. Every man, every organization, in fact every nation has the privilege of judging its ideas and ideals from the vantage point of two years of wartime history.

During the past several weeks, I have attempted to do this for myself, and I believe that everyone of you would find the time well spent to do the same. In this period of war and revolution, of conflicting emotions and beliefs, every man should use the facts of the past to re-orient his mind for his attitude and his action in the future.

It is no more than right, I believe, that those of us who have taken a leading part in opposing American intervention should be willing to lay our motives openly before the millions of Americans who have stood at our side. To-night, therefore, I am going to ask you to come with me, in your minds, back to the years immediately preceding this war.

Deeply Interested In Europe

I was living and traveling in Europe during most of the four years that preceded the declaration of war. I lived for two years in England, and for one year in France, and I traveled through most of the other countries over there. I think you will understand when I say that from the time I first landed at Paris in 1927 France had become to me a second home. I was, and I still am, deeply interested in her welfare, and in the welfare of Europe as a whole. That interest is second only to the welfare of my own country.

In fact, my opposition to this war first arose because of my concern about the effect it would have on Europe. It was not until a later date that I fully understood the danger a European war involved for America.

My first realization of the dangers and problems that lay ahead came with a trip I made to Germany in 1936. It was clear to me, at that time, that Germany had, or would soon have, by far the strongest army and air force in the world, and that she intended to use her military forces to increase her influence and expand her territory. Probably even more significant than the size of her army and air force was the fact that the people of Germany were ready for war, while the people of France and England were not.

German Air Force Stronger

My estimate of the situation in Europe, and the best policy to follow, was different than that of most of my friends. After the Siegfried Line was built, I knew that the French and British armies were no longer in a position to attack Germany successfully. I knew that the German air force was stronger than any combination that could be brought against it, and that England was in a disadvantageous position from the standpoint of air power.

Hitler held weapons which Napoleon had lacked. He had aviation with which to strike at England and the British navy, and he had modern communication and mechanized transport with which to overcome the great distances of Russia. It seemed obvious to me that these weapons changed the military balance and strategy not only of Europe but of the entire world.

By 1938, I had come to the conclusion that if a war occurred between Germany on one side, and England and France on the other, it would result either in a German victory, or in a prostrate and devastated Europe. I therefore advocated that England and France build their military forces with the utmost rapidity, but that they permit Germany to expand eastward into Russia without declaring war.

England And France Erred

As you know, the opposite school of thought prevailed. Now, after two years of war, we are in a better position to judge the policies that were followed by England and France. We are in a better position to judge who was right and who was wrong. Those who said Germany was bluffing were mistaken. Those who said a navy was more than a match for an air force were wrong. Those who promised aid to Poland if she fought misled her as they misled every other country that took their side. The idealists who shouted so glibly that war must be declared on Germany in order to preserve European civilization sent thousands of the finest men of France and England to defeat and death. They now find themselves allied with Soviet Russia, and they have seen European civilization collapsing with every day of war.

Hardly a promise that was made to the peoples of France and England when this war began has survived the test of two years of struggle. Most of these promises were made by well meaning and honest men, but by men who were too far separated from life and fact. They erred, but it was not they who paid the price for their error. That price was paid in the blood and suffering and despair of European peoples.

Opposition To War Justified

In view of what has taken place in these last two years, I believe that those of us who opposed a declaration of war by England and France have been justified in our stand. If Germany had been permitted to throw her armies eastward against Russia in 1939 instead of 1941, the picture in Europe would be far different today. Whether or not Germany would have turned west after conquering Russia is debatable. But even if she had done so, a weaker Germany would have faced a stronger England and France.

Now, I have told you why I opposed this war in the years before it was declared in Europe. Let me lay before you the motives I had for opposing intervention by America.

Intervention Disastrous

When hosilities commenced in Europe, I knew that every effort would be made to involve the United States. I believed that our intervention would be disastrous both for America and Europe. I felt it would be disastrous for America because we were unprepared for war, and because we had problems enough of our own—problems which it would be sufficiently difficult to solve without the added complication of a major foreign war. I felt our intervention would be disastrous for Europe because it seemed obvious to me that European nations must eventually adjust their affairs among themselves.

I knew that no amount of intervention by the United States could change the basic fact that aviation weakened the military position of the British Isles in relation to the Continent. I believed that the future of England and France depended upon their own birth rates and internal conditions rather than upon our assistance in winning another war. Our participation in the last war showed how futile it is for America to attempt to solve the problems of Europe. Englishmen themselves have said that Europe would be better off today if we had not entered the last war, because in that case a peace would have been made that would have been more practical and lasting.

Difficulties Of An A.E.F.

My opposition to American intervention was based upon many reasons; but I think that none was stronger than my belief that modern aviation made it impractical, if not impossible, for an expeditionary force to cross an ocean and land successfully on a hostile coast against a strong enemy air power.

I believed that history, and experience, and judgment, all showed that the destiny of America should not be tied to the outcome of European war.

From that time on, in articles and radio addresses, I have advocated that we make America so strong that no foreign powers will ever attempt to attack us, but that we leave European wars to European nations.

As you all know, in spite of the opposition of the American people, we have been led step by step to war, until today we are actually engaged in undeclared naval warfare. How this has been accomplished is one of the most amazing and alarming developments in the history of the United States.

Scores Smearing Campaigns

Those of us who have stood out against American intervention have, from the beginning, encountered an insidious opposition. It has been an opposition whose word has not been good from one side of an election to the other; an opposition that has made constant use of under cover methods; an opposition that has fought in personalities and smearing campaigns, and not on issues; an opposition that has discarded one American tradition after another, while it claims to be upholding the American way of life.

If the issue of intervention had been placed openly before our Congress and our people, a decision could have been reached in the traditional American way. But this was not done because the interventionists knew that the American people would not agree to war.

President Roosevelt and his administration have never taken the American people into their confidence. They preach about preserving Democracy and freedom abroad, while they practice Dictatorship and subterfuge at home. They used the phrase "Aid to the Allies" to involve us in foreign war. They used the phrase "American Defense" to *prepare* us for foreign war. They used the phrase "Steps Short of War" to *lead* us to foreign war. In place of our traditional American idea of a government run by the people, President Roosevelt has substituted the new concept of a people run by the government.

Nation On Verge Of War

Men and Women of New York: We must face the fact that our nation is on the verge of war today. Up to the present moment the Interventionists in America have been as successful in leading on to war as were their brethren in England and France. The Interventionists have a unique and ominous record. They have won practically every argument they have made at home, and lost practically every battle they have fought abroad.

But, for America, the final step into war has not yet been taken. Our Congress has not authorized a declaration of war, and national polls show that our people are overwhelmingly opposed to it. If we still had in fact, as well as in name, a Representative Government, we would be far from war today.

The imminent danger of war lies in the action taken by President Roosevelt and his supporters. Without asking the consent of Congress, they placed our navy in a position where American warships were certain to be attacked. With the utmost cleverness, they manoeuvred us into the German war zone in the name of defense, and then claimed that they were the victim of unprovoked attack.

Urges Calm Thought

Before we allow ourselves to be committed finally and irrevocably to war, let us do what France and England failed to do. Let us, for a moment, put our emotions and desires in the background, and look clearly and objectively at the type of war that confronts us. Let us estimate the cost and the chances of success, and then make our decision calmly and intelligently, in a traditional American way.

We are a nation of mixed races, of mixed religions, of mixed creeds. In the space of a few generations this country has changed from a wilderness to the greatest industrial nation on earth. Never in the history of men has the environment of human life changed as rapidly as it has right here in America.

With this mixture of ideologies, with this new environment of life, we are struggling to build a new civilization in a new world. Surrounded by burning problems of economic and social adjustment, we are trying to create here in America the type of civilization of which our forefathers dreamed—a civilization that turns to a higher purpose the energy that Europe has always wasted upon war.

Has ever a nation been confronted with more difficult problems, or with higher ideals? Shall we inject into this picture the chaos and confusion of the greatest war the world has ever experienced? After all these generations of American independence, for which we fought, are we now to submerge our future in the endless wars of the Old World? Is this the great American ideal toward which we have been striving all these years?

Two Ocean Warfare

Let us consider the military picture. We are on the verge of a war that would require us to attack the strongest military power the world has ever known—a war that would probably force us to fight in both the Atlantic and the Pacific, in both Europe and Asia, at the same time. To be successful, we would have to transport mechanized armies of millions of men across the ocean, and land them on hostile coasts defended by the best and most hardened armies of the Eastern Hemisphere. In the case of Europe, we would have to land on a coast which the French and British and Belgian armies combined were unable to hold, even with the assistance of long established fortifications.

If we should be successful in such an enterprise, it would involve the death and maiming of millions of American soldiers. Every family in this nation would have its wounded and its dead. I say *if* we should be successful. But before we could carry on war on such a scale, we would have to turn this country into a military nation that would surpass Germany herself in totalitarian efficiency.

We would have to train and equip an army of not less than ten million men, and we would have to build a navy and merchant marine that could transport such an army across the ocean. And then we would be confronted with the problem

(Continued on page 4)

WE NEED YOUR FINANCIAL SUPPORT NOW

The extent of our activities depends entirely on the contributions of our members.

Your contribution enables us to conduct meetings, publish literature and interest new minds in our work.

If you possibly can, will you please contribute now to carry on this important work? Your contribution, however small, will enable us to reach and influence others—to broaden the scope of this movement so that we will be able to reach thousands of new members weekly.

Please send in a contribution today. Get others to contribute. With your help—and only with your help—America First can sweep the country.

FILL OUT THIS FORM NOW

I enclose $.....to be used in furthering the cause for which the America First Committee is fighting.

NAME .....

Address .....City .....

☐ I am a member of America First.

☐ I wish to enroll as a member of the America First Committee. I am not affiliated in any way with any foreign power or subversive organization.

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AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE, 515 Madison Ave., New York City.

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Principles Of America First Committee

1. Our first duty is to keep America out of foreign wars. Our entry would only destroy democracy, not save it.

2. We must build a defense, for our own shores, so strong that no foreign power or combination of powers can invade our country, by sea, air or land.

3. Not by acts of war abroad but by preserving and extending democracy at home can we aid democracy and freedom in other lands.

4. In 1917 we sent our American ships into the war zone, and this led us to war. In 1941 we must keep our naval convoys and merchant vessels on this side of the Atlantic.

5. Humanitarian aid is the duty of a strong, free country at peace. With proper safeguard for the distribution of supplies, we should feed and clothe the suffering and needy people of the occupied countries.

6. We advocate an official advisory vote by the people of the United States on the question of war or peace, so that when Congress decides this question, as the Constitution provides, it may know the opinion of the people on this gravest of all issues.

Peace

(Continued from page 1)

passed merely a resolution to arm merchant ships. The Senate has agreed to that but has added the plan to send these ships into the war zones, meaning virtually the repeal of the neutrality act.

The resolution as passed by the Senate must now go back to the House. The House can debate the neutrality repeal. But in order to shut off debate, the Senate leaders propose to pass an additional resolution to send the resolution immediately to a conference committee of the House and Senate. If such a committee agrees on the Senate repeal plan, the whole thing will go to the House to be voted on WITHOUT DEBATE.

Thus the "Hate-don't think!" plan is extended to include not only the people but Congress itself. Never in all our history has a more sinister plot against the will of the American people been hatched to take them into a war they do not want.

There is one way to stop it. The people must make themselves heard. The one thing that will check this plot is a flood of protests from every man and woman in this country who is against this war. The letters are rolling in now as a result of the appeals of the America First Committee.

Congressmen have appealed to the committee to call upon their members for more mail. Look over the list of Congressmen from your state. Select the one from your district.

WRITE HIM. WRITE HIM EVERY DAY.

HAVE YOUR FAMILY MEMBERS WRITE HIM.

HAVE YOUR FRIENDS WRITE HIM.

This is something you can do. And the time to do it is NOW.

A Week's Quotes

Representative Louis Ludlow of Indiana: "The neutrality law is America's protection against war. It stands as a great bulwark of mighty strength to keep us out of the ever-widening whirlpool of war that is sucking nation after nation into its vortex. Strike down the neutrality law and the rapid resistless tide of events will soon drag us into the conflict and God only knows what the end will be. America is the world's sanctuary of freedom . Let us keep it so forever. Let us not jeopardize our Constitution by engaging in any dubious ventures in foreign zones of conflict where war is perennial."

Representative Dewey Short of Missouri: "When you put a gun on a merchantman and send it into dangerous war zones you might as well put boxing gloves on Eddie Cantor and put him into the ring with Joe Louis. It is no protection against aircraft, submarines, or men-of-war. This is simply to create the incidents that will plunge us all the way into war."

Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin: "We do not really believe in freedom of the seas. At least the President does not. He has decreed that the ships of certain nations cannot be free to travel in practically one-half of the Atlantic Ocean. None of our ships is free to trade with the Axis Powers. There is not a consistent logic to the argument for arming merchant ships and sending our merchant ships through the war zone which would justify our taking a step that would precipitate us into the war."

Joseph Scott, Former Head of the California Knights of Columbus: "Irrespective of the success of our proposed war, whether any of us agree with Mr. Roosevelt's policy or philosophy, the stark-naked truth before us today is that we cannot compromise with communism."

On The Peace Front

The Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee announced this week that it would join forces with the America First Committee to fight the war-makers' attempts to repeal the Neutrality Act. William J. Grace, chairman of the committee in Chicago, said that at a meeting of his committee a resolution was approved calling for cooperation with America First, and urging that the growing Communistic spirit in the Administration and in country be combatted.

A new book, "We Testify," containing a cross-section of noninterventionist opinion, has just been published and is being sold at America First offices. Published by Smith & Durrell, Inc., and priced to sell at $2.50, "We Testify" contains articles by nineteen eminent American leaders outlining the arguments against our involvement in war.

Among the contributors are Former President Herbert Hoover, Senators Burton K. Wheeler and Robert A. Taft; Generals Robert E. Wood and Hugh S. Johnson; Educators Robert M. Hutchins and Henry Noble MacCracken; John T. Flynn, Amos R. E. Pinchot, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Carleton Beals, Frances Gunther, Igor Sikorsky, Norman Thomas, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, Oswald Garrison Villard and William Henry Chamberlin.

The Associated Press this week carried a story from Danville, Va., stating that L. C. Dickerson of Stuart, Va., a seaman aboard the U. S. destroyer Reuben James, wrote a relative recently that the ship had been responsible for the sinking of at least two submarines prior to its being hit by a torpedo last week.

The Navy Department does not announce the number of German vessels that have been sunk by American warships. There are many reasons for this policy, but one of the results of it is that each time an American vessel is torpedoed the war-makers can cry that it has been "ruthlessly attacked," regardless of the number of submarines it may have itself attacked first.

The annual convention of the Churches of Christ in Michigan this week adopted a resolution opposing all attempts to bring the United States closer to the brink of war. The convention called on President Roosevelt to use his offices for peace, calling a peace conference at once that will reach a settlement "that shall not attempt to define war guilt or guilty parties" and will "build a peace without spoils."

While the local Communists froth and foam for an American declaration of war, it is interesting to recall what their Fuehrer, Stalin, said on this subject in May, 1938:

"The doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin teach us that revolution will immediately follow a general war. The chief work before our parties and our communist brothers all the world over must therefore be devoted to making this general war possible."

Lindbergh Warns American Involvement In War Means Army Of Ten Million Men

(Continued from page 3)

that England has been unable to solve: How can an Expeditionary Force be landed on an enemy coast defended by strong air power? Britain's navy was unable to support her army in Norway, or in Flanders, or in Greece. Britain was not able to invade the Continent even while the German army was occupied in Russia. And Britain has only twenty-five miles to go in comparison to our more than twenty-five hundred.

Will Our System Survive War?

This war we are asked to enter would be the greatest and most devastating conflict of all history. And what have we to gain from either a material or an ideal standpoint? Do you think our American way of life will survive long years under a Totalitarian system? Do you believe that civilized ideals can spring from death and disease and starvation all over the world?

Suppose we were able to win such a war. Would we still have the strength and desire to police the world with our armies, in order to prevent a similar war in another generation? If we look forward to policing the world after this war is over, then we will almost certainly have to remain a totalitarian state in order to maintain the military efficiency for such a prodigious undertaking. If we do not intend to police the world, then what happened after the last war is an excellent indication of what is likely to happen again after the next.

Men and women of New York: The future of this nation, and of our American ideals, is in jeopardy today as never before in our history. It seems clear to me that it would be disastrous for us to enter this war abroad. But there is one thing that would be even more disastrous to our nation; and that is a continuation of the subterfuge, the confusion, and the irresponsibility, with which we have been led along the road to war.

The most fundamental issue today is not one of war or peace, but one of integrity. Whether we go to war or whether we stay out, we have the right to demand integrity in the leadership of this nation. Whether we are for intervention or whether we are opposed to it, we can unite in believing that if we have integrity in our leadership, and confidence in that integrity, this nation of ours is great enough to survive either in adversity or success.

If we have confidence in that integrity, we will pass through these years ahead, whether they be years of peace or years of war, and emerge a stronger nation than we were when they began. As Americans, we never have, and as Americans we never will, fear any foreign enemy, either in commerce or in war. There is no danger to this nation from without. Our only danger lies from within.

I appeal to all Americans, no matter what their viewpoint on the war may be, to unite behind the demand for a leadership in Washington that stands squarely upon American traditions—a leadership of integrity instead of subterfuge, of openness instead of secrecy; a leadership that demonstrates its Americanism by taking the American people into its confidence.

Forthcoming America First Meetings

TUESDAY, Nov. 11.—Newark rally. Speakers: Edward Atwell, Professor O'Connell.

TUESDAY, Nov. 11.—Jersey City rally. Speakers: George Smith, Laura Ingalls.

THURSDAY, Nov. 13.—Westchester Square rally, Ten Pin Hall, 3044 Westchester Avenue. Speakers: Edward Atwell, Bennett Van Rensselaer.

FRIDAY, Nov. 14.—Valley Stream rally, Valley Stream High School Auditorium.

FRIDAY, Nov. 14.—Bronx rally, Ebling's Casino. Speakers: Rep. J. F. O'Connell, Colonel Kuznik, Jean Bennett.

SATURDAY, Nov. 15.—Wakefield Unit dance, Wakefield Casino, 238th Street and White Plains Avenue. Speaker: Laura Ingalls.

Regular Weekly Meetings

MONDAY—Elmhurst - Jackson Heights Unit meeting. Queens Headquarters, 75-12 Roosevelt Avenue, Jackson Heights, 8:15 p.m.

MONDAY—Astoria Unit rally, 32-14 Steinway Avenue, Astoria, L. I., 8:30 p.m.

TUESDAY — Westchester Square Unit rally, East Tremont and Frisby Avenues, the Bronx, 8:30 p.m.

TUESDAY—Valley Stream Unit rally, 404 Rockaway Avenue, Valley Stream, L. I., 8:15 p.m.

WEDNESDAY — Kingsbridge Unit meeting, 231st Street and Kingsbridge Avenue, the Bronx, 8 p.m.

THURSDAY—Wakefield Unit rally, 4325 White Plains Avenue (between 236th and 237th Streets).

THURSDAY—Westchester Square rally, East Tremont Avenue and Eastern Boulevard, the Bronx, 8:30 p.m.

THURSDAY — South Shore Unit meetings, Veterans of Foreign Wars Hall, 245-02 Francis Lewis Boulevard, Rosedale, L. I.; Youth for America First meeting, 7:30 p.m.; Senior meeting, 8:30 p.m.

THURSDAY—Corona Unit meeting, 103-10 39th Avenue, Corona.

FRIDAY—South Bronx Unit rally, 138th Street and Willis Avenue, Bronx, 8 p.m.